



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

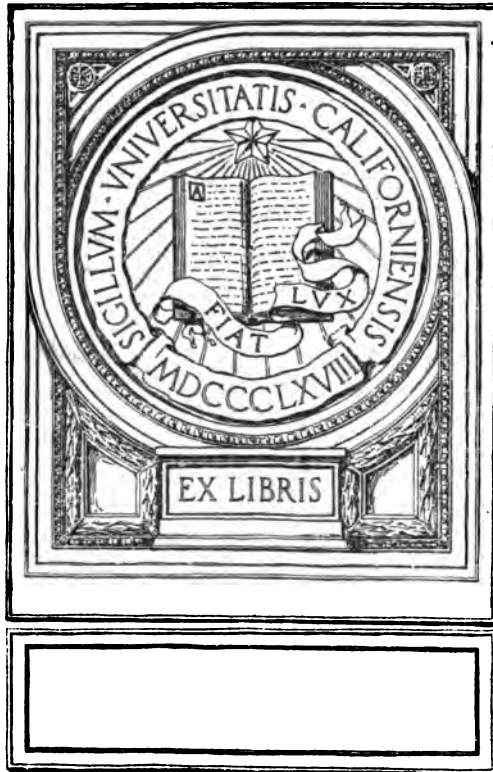
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

EXCHANGE



HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

W

HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES.

EDITED BY

CHARLES GEORGE HERBERMANN, LL.D.

VOLUME VII.

JUNE, 1914

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

NEW YORK :

PUBLISHED BY

THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1914.

E184
.C3U5
v.7

Copyright, 1914
BY
THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

TO VIML
ABSTRACT

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| The Sulpicians in the United States..By Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D. | 7 |
| Le Moyne D'Iberville.....By Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. | 51 |
| St. Mary's College, Wilmington, Delaware | By Right Rev. Mgr. Henry A. Brann, D.D..... 81 |
| Pierre D'Ailly and the Discovery of America | By Canon Louis Salembier (of the Catholic University of Lille) 90 |
| Holy Trinity Parish, Boston..... | By Paul H. Linehan..... 132 |
| A Catholic University and Its Founders | By Rev. Michael J. O'Connor, S.J. 145 |
| The San Blas Indians..... | By Rev. Henry C. Pouget..... 163 |
| Fra Junipero Serra, and the California Missions..... | By Ann Judge..... 168 |
| A Village Churchyard..... | By Thomas F. Meehan..... 183 |
| Register of the Clergy Laboring in the Archdiocese of New York From Early Missionary Times to 1885..... | By The Most Rev. Michael Augustine Corrigan, D.D..... 198 |
| Results of My Cartographical Investigations | By Professor Joseph Fischer, S.J. 206 |
| Was Columbus a Spaniard and a Jew?By Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D | 216 |
| Necrology..... | 221 |
| Right Rev. Patrick A. Ludden.. | 221 |
| Rev. Isidore Meister, LL.D..... | 222 |
| Rev. Malick A. Cunnion..... | 222 |
| Rev. Michael J. Considine..... | 223 |
| Rev. Joseph L. Hoey..... | 224 |
| Adolph Francis Alphonsus Bandler | 224 |
| William Lummis..... | 225 |
| Dr. James N. Butler..... | 225 |
| James E. Dougherty..... | 226 |
| | By Thomas F. Meehan..... |
| Report of Annual Meeting, New York, April, 1913..... | 228 |
| Report of Annual Meeting, New York, January, 1914..... | 230 |
| Financial Report..... | 232 |
| List of Officers..... | 236 |
| List of Members..... | 237 |

DAY OF COLUMBA

THE GREAT
AMERICAN



MOST REV. JOHN CARROLL, D.D., FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE.

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

THE SULPICIAN IN THE UNITED STATES

BY CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, LL.D.

CHAPTER I

THE CALL

The twenty-seventh of February, 1785, is the birthday of the organized Catholic Church of the United States. On that day the Reverend John Carroll signified to Cardinal Antonelli, at that time Prefect of the Propaganda, his acceptance of the office of superior of the mission of the thirteen United States to which Pope Pius VI had appointed him. The new head of the budding American Church was fully conscious of the many difficulties he would have to surmount in performing the work which had been confided to him. Not that the flock entrusted to the new shepherd was counted by the hundreds of thousands, not that the clergy which he was to guide was unmanageable because of its numbers, for, as he tells us in his letter of acceptance, the Catholic laity of Maryland consisted of some 15,000 and that of Pennsylvania of 7000 souls; of these several thousand may have been imaginary. New York, he tells us, was estimated to hold some 1500 Catholics. In the remaining States the faithful were not worth mentioning, and the northwestern territory, *i.e.* the Illinois country and Michigan, was the home of a few thousand half-settled Canadians under the charge of two or three Canadian missionaries. All told, the flock of the new shepherd probably did not exceed 25,000, hardly more than enough to fill three large New York parishes at the present time. To guide and rule this flock, the Reverend Mr. Carroll tells us he could look to some twenty-five priests to help him—nineteen in

Maryland, five in Pennsylvania, and two or three without any definite station. Of these, two had passed threescore and ten, and several others were rapidly reaching this goal. The clergy of the United States, therefore, hardly exceeded twenty-five; now if clergy and laity had been evenly distributed over a moderate area the clergy could have easily satisfied the spiritual needs of the faithful. But this was not the case. Twenty-five priests scattered over Maryland and Pennsylvania were wholly unable to attend to their spiritual wants, even if we leave the Church members scattered over the eleven other States entirely out of consideration. Moreover, as we learn from the new superior's letter of acceptance, a steady though slow Catholic immigration had already set in, and these new Catholics, especially in the large cities, were of very doubtful quality and required exceptional pastoral care. These facts had deeply impressed the Reverend Mr. Carroll, and even in his letter of acceptance he speaks of the need of high schools and a seminary as one of the most pressing necessities of the new American Church. Little assistance could he expect from the Catholic countries of the Old World. Ireland and England still drew the priests they were in want of from the missionary colleges of France, Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries. The native clergy of Europe hardly sufficed for the needs of the several European nations and their colonies. And the prospects of the future were not more promising than the present conditions were satisfactory. The Society of Jesus had been suppressed, and thus a source of supply which had furnished many missionaries for more than two centuries had been cut off. If the newly organized American Church did rely upon self-help, she must have been condemned to make bricks without straw. The Reverend Mr. Carroll, as we have said, realized these difficulties of the situation from the beginning, and he was not the man to remain idle when the necessities of his flock loudly cried for action. It is true, as we learn from one of the superior's letters to the apostolic nuncio at Paris, that he had received offers of service from German and Portuguese priests already in the country, but such help as this must needs be sporadic. In

1786 and 1787 we find him expressing to his European friends and to the officials of the Propaganda the conviction that the only hope for the steady supply of priests and for the growth of the Church depended on the establishment of a school for higher studies and of a seminary in the United States; nay, more, at the same time he used his utmost efforts to induce the Society of the Maryland and Pennsylvania missionaries to take practical steps toward the foundation of an academy at Georgetown. In spite of opposition on the part of some of the clergy, he persisted in his project, and in 1789 the oldest Catholic college—a very modest institution—was opened at Georgetown in the District of Columbia. Pius VI and the heads of the Propaganda saw the wisdom of the Rev. Mr. Carroll's plans, and when the Pope, in his bull dated November 6, 1789, appointed him bishop of the newly created see of Baltimore, the bull not only approved of the design to found a seminary in the new diocese, but made it the bishop's duty to establish such an institution. This injunction, which was in such marked agreement with Bishop Carroll's own views, no doubt inspired him with new energy to bring about the establishment of a clerical seminary, and he corresponded with various ecclesiastical authorities in Europe to realize the views of the Holy Father and of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Among the prelates whose aid he invoked was the apostolic nuncio at Paris, Cardinal Dugnani.

We need hardly remind our readers that Bishop Carroll's nomination to the see of Baltimore was only a few months subsequent to the outbreak of the French Revolution. The taking of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, and the violent proceedings of the French States-General produced a profound impression upon the entire Christian world; above all, on the civil and religious authorities in France. The wisest and best men everywhere anxiously foreboded the coming troubles which threatened throne and Church alike. Among the most able and far-seeing of the French clergy was the Very Rev. James Andrew Emery, the ninth general superior of the Society of St. Sulpice. This distinguished ecclesiastic, prior to his appointment as head

of the Sulpician Society, had held important positions in that body, and as vicar-general of Angers had acquired much practical experience and great practical insight into political and ecclesiastical conditions in France. He had followed with a keen and attentive eye the disquieting course of events and foresaw at an early date the dangers which threatened the French Church. His own Society, he foresaw, might ere long be drawn into the revolutionary whirlpool and destroyed. He began to cast about for a haven of refuge should disaster overtake it. The Abbé Emery had his attention drawn to America, partly, no doubt, because his Society already possessed a flourishing establishment in Canada, partly because the French had been the allies of the Americans in the War of Independence, and partly because in 1790 some French noblemen were organizing a French colony in the valley of the Ohio.

Next to Bishop Carroll, it was the Abbé Emery to whom the Catholics of the United States owe the manifold benefits which accrued to them from the labors of the Sulpician Fathers, and it is therefore proper, by way of making our readers acquainted with this remarkable man, to give a short account of his life.

Born at Gex, near the Swiss frontier, in August, 1732, he was entrusted to the Jesuits after the usual preliminary education, and then took up his philosophical studies at Lyons, and by competitive examination won a place among the so-called Robertins in Paris. In both places he won distinction by his scholarship. Ordained to the priesthood in 1756, he not only successfully filled various places in the Sulpician seminaries, but when, in 1776, he was placed in charge of the Seminary of Angers, the bishop, M. de Grasse, soon named him chief vicar-general of the diocese. The duties of this position made him acquainted with active practical life, with the requirements of business and the character of men. The wisdom and success with which he governed the diocese more and more drew the attention of his brethren to his many merits, and when, in 1782, the eighth superior-general of St. Sulpice, M. Le Gallic, resigned his position M. Emery was elected his successor and took up

his residence in Paris. Here his wise and sympathetic qualities gained him the good-will of all inside and outside of his own Society. When, after the outbreak of the Revolution, the Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Juigné, left France, he appointed M. Emery one of his vicars-general who were to govern the great archdiocese of Paris during the days of the Terror and the critical times that followed until the Concordat revived the French hierarchy in 1802. During all this time, beginning with the taking of the Bastille (1789), he remained at his post and resided in his seminary, when most of the churches of Paris and its ecclesiastical institutions were closed. With firmness he condemned the constitutional oath of the clergy and with discretion he helped to guide the much-tried clergy of Paris amid the many successive problems which tortured their conscience. But he was not destined to go through these dreadful times without personally experiencing the terrors of the Revolution. On Pentecost Day, May 19, 1793, he was arrested at his home, taken to the Mairie, and thence to St. Pelagie, one of the convents of Paris then used for a prison. However, his imprisonment did not last long, for, owing to the influence of a relative, Mme. de Villette, he was liberated on May 31, and took refuge in that lady's house. But on the 16th of July following, he was again arrested and taken to the Carmes, whence he was transferred to the Conciergerie, where he remained in prison for sixteen months. He was repeatedly taken before the revolutionary tribunal, and expected more than once to be guillotined. What were the mental tortures through which he passed during this imprisonment may be seen in part from the following letter to the Reverend Mr. Nagot, at that time the superior of the Sulpicians in Baltimore:

"In a few hours I am about to appear before the revolutionary tribunal, my dear Nagot, and I expect to be sentenced to death. I avail myself of these last hours of my life to give you and all your confrères my blessing, and to assure you that in heaven, where I hope to be received through God's mercy, I shall not forget you. I shall not cease to beg of God to protect you and to make all your plans prosper, which, He knows, seek

only His glory. I have sought to the end to help you, and I hope you will find assistance after my death. A letter of M. Martel, which informed me that he received a thousand *écus* which you had left in the care of Mme. Gouy and that were confiscated, furnished one of the grounds for bringing charges against me. What a consolation to die the victim of my love for the Church and of my affection for you. In the name of God, I trust that your house and the young men destined to be brought up there will always be looked upon as the nucleus of the undertaking. The blessings which result therefrom are unbounded. Do you, therefore, and the professors strive without ceasing to prepare yourselves for this work by studying local prejudices and opinions and by preferring the spirit of retirement and prayer—the inward spirit—to every other good work that you may be able to do and all of which must be subordinated to the great work which Providence has entrusted to you. You know and have under your eyes the rules of St. Sulpice. God will bless your works the more closely you will observe these rules. Be one and all of you men of peace; show yourself such in the controversies in which you may be engaged, or rather, which you will avoid to the best of your ability, as far as prudence will permit, for I am convinced that your piety, your regularity, your retirement, and your withdrawal from the world, and your unselfishness will bring you more respect and will gain more souls for the Church than all the most learned discussions. I need not ask you to love all your confrères as a father loves his children. Providence has made you their superior. Every society must have a center of unity, and the superior of Baltimore should always be the superior of the Sulpicians employed elsewhere in the United States. For your security and the maintenance of your little property, use all the means suggested by Christian prudence. Do not put off until to-morrow what can be done for this purpose to-day.

“I fear I shall not have the time to close my letter. I hasten to beg of you to convey to Messrs. Levadoux, Richard, Flaget, Ciquard, my last expression of affection for them. How delighted I was to receive news from the first three in my prison!

I am anxious that my answer should reach them. You will also convey my regards to Messrs. David and Maréchal. I cordially greet all the colleagues that work in the same house as yourself. God knows how dear they are to my heart.

"I finish with St. Paul's words: '*Ego scio quia non amplius videbitis faciem meam. . . . Et nunc commendo vos Deo, et verbo gratiæ ipsius, qui potens est ædificare et dare hæreditatem in sanctificationis omnibus.*'"

"I must not forget the young gentlemen you took with you; you will tell them that I thought of them during my last moments and that I pray God to strengthen them and to confirm them in His grace.

"Please assure Mgr. Carroll of the deep respect which I entertain for him. Tell him that I recommend you and all your confrères to his kindness and protection, of which I hope you will continue to be worthy.

"God bless M. Delavau; he must feel that God inspired him with the thought of accompanying you. I wish the domestics with you all peace and blessing."¹

On April 4, 1794, M. Emery was transferred from the Conciergerie to the Collège de Plessis, another Parisian prison improvised during the Terror. His letter, written from this prison to M. Montaigne, one of his Sulpician brethren, dated April 28, 1793, gives us even a clearer insight into the spirit, the aims, the motives, the principles, and the interests of this remarkable man. It shows us his faith in God's mercy, his coolness and courage in the presence of death, his attachment to his Society and his brethren, and his special interest in the Sulpician colony at Baltimore as destined to keep alive the beloved institute of which he was the guardian and superior:

"In a few hours I am to appear before the revolutionary tribunal. I have no doubt that I shall be condemned to death. So I must express to you without a moment's loss my last sentiments. I begin by thanking you for the affection which you have shown me during the last days of my life, for the zeal

¹The original of this letter is in the archives of the Seminary at Baltimore. Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, vol. i, p. 343 ff.

with which you have worked to prolong my days, and for your anxiety to provide for all my needs. May God reward you therefor both here on earth and hereafter. Please assure my worthy predecessor, M. Le Gallic, and MM. Crénier, Béchet, Montevis, and Duclaux that my feelings toward them have remained the same to the end (these are well known to them). That I earnestly wish them the lengthening of their days in these difficult times and that I pray God with all my heart that, like you, they may grow in grace and in charity and that we may be all reunited in heaven. Please tell the young men who have been faithful to us to the end, and especially tell Lagardiole, that I die greatly moved by their kindness, and grateful to them for the favors they have done us and for all the services they have rendered us.

"Please thank Adam, also, and Bazin,¹ and assure them of my friendship. I recommend them to your consideration.

"If it is in your power hereafter to keep up communication with members of the Society of St. Sulpice, tell them that I died a victim of my love for them; for it was in order to be able to help them, to be a medium of correspondence for them whilst this was possible and allowable, to watch over the venerated remains of M. Olier and M. Bretonvilliers, that I have resisted all kinds of pressure urging me to withdraw from the seminary and to disappear. I do not fathom God's designs; they are impenetrable, and I bow before them. I dare not, therefore, speculate on the restoration of peace in our country, on the return and the reunion of my brethren. I only remark that it is my most ardent wish that they may be reunited.

"I die in the hope and consolation that the name and spirit of St. Sulpice will not wholly perish. Maryland will preserve them. You know my sentiments as to that institution, so dear to my heart and so important to religion. I have every reason to think that you will make these known if necessary and that you will carry them out faithfully. Farewell, my dear M. Montaigne. If this letter reaches you before my decease, you

¹The former was M. Emery's domestic and the latter the porter of the seminary.

will aid me with your prayers at the moment of death, and with those of the persons whom you will inform of my situation. I die trusting to God's mercy, which has never helped me more strikingly than during the last days of my life.

"May the blessing of M. Olier and of all the holy priests of our Society rest on you."¹

But M. Emery was not destined to perish by the guillotine. Six months after this letter was written, when Robespierre fell, the gates of the Collège de Plessis were thrown open and most of the unfortunates who had so long lingered there in fear and trembling were restored to the outer world, and among them M. Emery (October 25, 1794). His friend M. Montaigne at first gave him hospitality, but the superior of the Sulpicians felt that the seminary was the correct place for him. Still, he soon recognized that the storm had not blown over and that Paris was not a place of safety for him. He betook himself to his birthplace at Gex, on the Swiss border. Immediately on his arrival there he sent a letter to Pope Pius VI, with whom he had already corresponded during his captivity. He gave the Pope an account of the condition of his Society and his plans for the future. As to his own person, he expressed the desire to join his brethren who were working in the United States, for "if France were lost to the Catholic Church it is very likely that God has prepared in the United States a compensation for the loss of France."²

From the answer sent to M. Emery, March 10, 1796, by the Pope's command by M. Caleppi, we learn that Pius VI was much impressed by the zeal and devotion to the Holy See evidenced by M. Emery and his Society during the trials of the Revolution and that he approved his intention to betake himself to the United States. At the same time, M. Emery was advised that, however much his American plans were appreciated, for the time being his presence in France, where he had so great an influence for encouraging and guiding the clergy, was more important. In accordance with this suggestion, the

¹Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, vol. i, p. 347 ff.

²Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, vol. i, p. 379.

loyal old priest remained in his native country. He returned to Paris, where he resumed his activity as one of the vicars-general who governed the archdiocese of Paris in the absence of the archbishop, Mgr. de Juigné. By his prudence and wisdom he maintained harmony, as far as possible, among the remaining loyal priests, and prevented the widening of the schism which was the result of the civil constitution of the clergy. In this way he tided over the dangerous eddies which threatened to wreck the metropolitan Church until Bonaparte brought order to the French state and comparative peace to the French Church. His ability and wisdom soon became known to Napoleon, who respected his learning, his practical wisdom, and the mixture of simplicity, boldness, and tact which led him to speak the truth without fear of the consequences. Thrice the emperor offered him a bishopric, which Emery thrice refused. For to him it appeared treason to abandon the cause of his Society, all broken up and dispersed as it was. Though at first angered by the good abbé's refusal of the sees of Arras, Autun, and Troyes (1802), the stubborn-minded Corsican soon became reconciled to his sturdy sense of duty, and permitted him to build up again the Society of St. Sulpice. Withal, the head of St. Sulpice never possessed the real confidence of the wily Corsican. One day he might advise his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, to lay in as valuable a store of theological knowledge as M. Emery possessed; the next day he criticized the same cardinal for being too much under the influence of the Sulpicians, who were a pack of intriguers. Meantime the unwearied superior continued rebuilding his Society, and in a few years it had again control of a dozen diocesan seminaries. Nor did M. Emery give way in the least to the spirit of innovation. What MM. Olier and Bretonvilliers had enacted must be carried out to the letter, ancient rules and customs observed, and the spirit of the founders respected in every detail. When Napoleon had consulted Cardinal Fesch he found all these proceedings of the aged superior, who had now become a decided septuagenarian, praiseworthy, or at least tolerable; but when he lent his ear to the whisperings of that treacherous policeman,

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

TO VINDI
ANNO 1740



VERY REV. JACQUES ANDRE EMERY, NINTH SUPERIOR-GENERAL OF ST. SULPICE.

Fouché, he threatened the very existence of the reviving Society. Withal, he appointed M. Emery on the council of the newly founded University of France and made him a member of a commission of cardinals and bishops summoned to find the means of circumventing the imprisoned Pontiff Pius VII, who was struggling for the rights of the Church. The cardinals and bishops found a way out of the labyrinth, but Emery mildly but positively declined to sign their document. He did not condemn Napoleon's marriage with Marie Louise, but he stayed home when the ceremony took place. At last Napoleon's patience was exhausted, and in May, 1810, under the influence of Fouché, he ordered the Minister of Public Worship to dissolve the Congregation of St. Sulpice and to compel the venerable superior, who was in his seventy-eighth year, to leave the seminary. Again the threatened blow was not delivered, though M. Emery himself was obliged to quit the seminary. Once more the emperor called a commission of cardinals and bishops, making M. Emery a member, and again he was the only plain priest on the commission. The violent language of the arbitrary Corsican and his tools dragooned the prelates into an effort to comply with his wishes. They sacrificed the Pope's rights to confirm the emperor's candidates for vacant bishoprics, and even went so far as to consent to a national council, which was only too likely to lead to a national schism. M. Emery in moderate but positive terms disagreed with them. Then Napoleon summoned the entire commission, including M. Emery, to appear before him and the *grande*s of his council of state, and at great length inveighed against the obstinacy of the Pope and threatened the most radical measures. Not a word of protest or dissent came from the great ecclesiastical dignitaries. Then Napoleon turned to M. Emery and asked him what he had to say on the question. "Sire, I can have no other opinion than what is contained in the catechism published by your orders," and then he showed that, according to the catechism, the Pope was the supreme ruler of the Church. Napoleon was struck by this answer and impressed by the aged priest's further developments. Three times he modestly but firmly con-

tested the emperor's views and stood up for the Pontiff's rights. Of the distinguished prelates Napoleon hardly took any notice. When he arose to dissolve the conference he politely bowed to M. Emery and to no one else. M. Emery left at once. Several of the prelates approached Napoleon to excuse the octogenarian. "You are mistaken," he replied; "I am not at all displeased with M. Emery; he spoke like a man who knows his business. I like to be spoken to in this way. Of course, he does not agree with my views, but every one must have his own opinion free here." Before leaving, Talleyrand, who had been present at the conference, said to one of the prelates: "I knew M. Emery had much pluck, but I did not think he had so much. He has the ability frankly to give his views to the emperor without displeasing him." A few days afterward Napoleon told his uncle, who desired to speak to him on Church matters: "Be silent; you are an ignoramus. Where did you learn your theology? M. Emery, who knows his theology, is the man with whom I must speak on these matters."¹

A few months later, death called the venerable Sulpician to his reward. To the last he met his trials with gentleness, firmness, and a smiling face, convinced that St. Sulpice, though for the second time smitten and broken up under his rule, would rise again and do even more glorious work in the future than it had done in the past.

Such was the man destined by Providence to help Bishop Carroll in his need, and to help him to establish a seminary according to the best European pattern, to furnish him with missionaries especially fitted to do the work of the Church in the new republic, and to dissipate much of the prejudice still rampant there, notwithstanding the toleration proclaimed by its constitution. The men whom M. Emery could send to the aid of the head of the American Church were the best-trained educators of candidates for the priesthood to be found in Europe, devoted to this work and to nothing else, having no other aims and no other vocation. Their rules forbade them to take up any exterior form of ministry, as they called it. They were

¹Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, vol. ii, p. 300 ff.

not to preach to the faithful, no matter what their eloquence; not to take the direction of nuns or of ladies in the world, whatever might be their wisdom; they were solely to perfect their scholarship and to develop their science of guiding the future pastors of souls, not only by their extensive learning, but also by practicing and inculcating the practice of all the means that wisdom and experience had shown to be productive of whatever begets solid virtue, good habits, and moral steadiness. Such men must needs bring out all that was correct and admirable in the scholars entrusted to them; they must make a very favorable impression upon the people among whom their lot was to be cast, for, as events proved, these learned but unpretentious gentlemen were fated for many long years to become most effective missionaries in their new home. They went forth to preach the Gospel, not among savages, where the missionary must combine self-denial and enthusiasm with something of the spirit of adventure, but among people whose civilization differed but little from their own and who must be chiefly impressed by the holiness, the self-sacrifice, and the learning of the men that brought them new views and a new religion. It was a great advantage to the budding Church of the United States that men like Dubourg, Dubois, Maréchal, Flaget, Bruté, and David were men, not of the type of missionary who might impress an Indian tribe, but men who in learning, scholarship, and culture, on the average, were vastly superior to the average American minister of the Gospel. They were well equipped to mingle in the foremost ranks of society, as we may see from the impression produced on the best men of Virginia by the Abbé Dubois. This zealous and earnest priest enjoyed the hospitality of the Monroes, exchanged lessons in English for lessons in French with Patrick Henry, and became the friend of the Randolphs, Lees, and Beverleys, everywhere respected and beloved. The same favorable impressions were created by the Sulpicians M. Emery sent to America. They combined fervent zeal for the Catholic faith with polished and agreeable manners, great tact, and the absence of all aggressiveness.

We now return to Bishop Carroll's efforts to establish the first American seminary. As we have seen before, among the European prelates whose assistance he sought to carry out his plan, was the papal nuncio in Paris, Mgr. Dugnani. Just at this time M. Emery, foreseeing the dangers threatening the Society of St. Sulpice in France and casting about for a new field of activity for his Society, had his attention drawn to the United States. But he little thought of settling his brethren at Baltimore. At first his eyes were directed farther westward, toward Ohio.

In 1789-90 M. du Val. d'Espremesnil, the Marquis de Marnesia, and a number of other Royalist gentlemen embarked on a fantastic scheme of colonization,¹ which attracted great attention in France among all classes of people, including the journalists. The authors of this scheme, which for various reasons proved a total failure, not only planned but partly made several settlements in the Scioto district, among them Marietta and Gallipolis. One of the Sulpicians of Paris, the Rev. M. Gallet, suggested that the Society found a seminary at Gallipolis, but when M. Emery discussed the scheme with Mgr. Dugnani, the latter drew his attention to the newly founded bishopric of Baltimore and to Bishop Carroll's plan of founding a seminary for the education of native priests. The hint was not thrown away on M. Emery. Some time afterward, shortly before August 15, 1790, he called a general assembly of his Society at Paris. He spoke to his brethren of the danger of their dispersion, and, waving aside the thought of joining the Scioto colony, he warmly espoused Mgr. Dugnani's views on the foundation of a seminary at Baltimore. The assembly was convinced; it approved of the project, and, what is more, it authorized the superior-general to devote at least a part of the savings of the Society to the realization of the scheme. M. Emery lost not a moment, but forthwith set himself in communication with Bishop Carroll, who, since the early part of the summer, had been in England arranging for his consecra-

¹See "Historical Records and Studies," vol. i, pp. 77-96; article: "A French Emigré Colony in the United States, 1789-1793," by Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D.

tion by Bishop Walmesley at Lulworth Castle on August 15, 1790. In his letter M. Emery begged Bishop Carroll, if he approved the proposal and if the latter intended to pass through Paris, to allow him to confer with the bishop on the subject. At the same time he offered him the hospitality of the seminary.¹ For some reason unknown to us, the bishop did not go to Paris, but it was agreed between him and the Sulpician superior that the Rev. M. Nagot, at that time a director of the Paris Seminary, should meet him at London. A letter of Bishop Carroll to the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli, dated September 9, 1790, gives us his version of the transaction. "At the request of His Excellency, the apostolic nuncio, one of the directors of St. Sulpice (M. Nagot) came to London. In our conferences we have determined to establish a seminary at Baltimore. From this institution we must hope great advantages will accrue to religion. In my opinion, it is clearly a providential dispensation, in our regard, that such excellent priests are inspired to bring us such valuable help at a time when our new diocese is in such pressing need of their services."²

Bishop Carroll, about a month after his consecration, wrote to Lord Arundell as follows: "We arranged all preliminaries and I expect at Baltimore early in the summer some of the gentlemen of that institution to set hard to work; and I have reason to believe they will find means to carry their plan into effect. Thus we shall be provided with a house fit for the reception of, and further improvement in the higher sciences of, the young men whom God may call to an ecclesiastical state after their classical education is finished in our Georgetown academy. While I cannot but thank Divine Providence for opening on us such a prospect, I feel great sorrow in the reflection that we owe such a benefit to the distressed state of religion in France."³

M. Emery did not fail to inform the Roman authorities of

¹Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, vol. i, p. 232.

²*Les Missions Sulpiciennes in L'Université Catholique*, Aug. 15th, 1905, p. 570.

³Shea, J. G., "Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll," vol. ii, p. 379.

his agreement with the Bishop of Baltimore, and received a letter warmly approving it. This letter of the Holy Father greatly encouraged the Sulpicians, and they proceeded at once to carry out the new undertaking. The first step was to select the pioneers who were to found the seminary at Baltimore. The choice made by M. Emery showed alike his knowledge of the needs of the new establishment, his acquaintance with the characters of his confrères, and his determination to give to the Church of the United States the very best forces that he had at his disposal. M. Nagot, director of the Paris Seminary, a man full of wisdom and of years (he was fifty-seven years of age), he selected to be the head of the new seminary. M. Nagot had been connected with the Paris Seminary for many years. Before becoming a director, he had been professor of theology and head of the school of philosophy. He enjoyed the special confidence of the superior-general, as is shown from their correspondence. One of M. Emery's last letters, we find, was directed to his venerable friend, the superior of the seminary in Baltimore. Among his former scholars had been the Irish priest, the celebrated Abbé Edgeworth, who prepared Louis XVI for death at the risk of his life.

Next to M. Nagot, must be mentioned the Reverend M. Garnier, a very able man, especially as a linguist, and destined in after times to become a close friend of M. Emery. He was twenty-nine years of age at this time, but had already been professor of theology at Lyons. The other two Sulpicians who accompanied M. Nagot were the Rev. M. Levadoux, director of the seminary at Bourges, and the Rev. M. Tessier, a native of the diocese of Angers, thirty-two years of age, who had been professor for two years at the seminary at Viviers. There was a fifth priest in the company, but he was not a Sulpician. This was the Very Rev. Canon Delavau of the diocese of Tours. The wild excesses of the Revolution had so impressed the old gentleman that he determined to leave his country in good time, and had arranged with the Sulpicians to live with them at Baltimore and pay for his support. M. Emery was certainly happy in the choice of the priests whom he sent to America. But

he did more for the new seminary. As a seminary without students would be a paradox, and as it was very doubtful that Georgetown, Bishop Carroll's new academy, would be able to furnish students of theology for some years to come, he made vigorous efforts to secure such students in the French seminaries under Sulpician guidance, and he was not unsuccessful. Five young Levites, all of them speaking the English language, volunteered to become the pioneers of the Baltimore seminary theologians. They were MM. Tulloh and Floyd, both natives of England; Perineau, an English-speaking Canadian; Edward Caldwell, born at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, a recent convert, and, lastly, Jean de Montdésir of the diocese of Chartres.

The material side of the new institution was not neglected. A friend of M. Emery had made him a donation of 30,000 livres with which to start this new branch of the Sulpicians. Of the savings of the Society of St. Sulpice, as we learn from a letter of M. Emery to Bishop Carroll, Father Emery devoted 100,000 francs to the establishment of the new seminary. We know that, in addition to the purchase money of the new seminary buildings and grounds, many other expenses were covered. The Society of St. Sulpice paid, not only for the passage of M. Nagot and his fellow-professors to Baltimore, but also for their maintenance after their arrival during two years. Moreover, they were provided with the needed sacred vessels and vestments for the use of the priests, altar-linens, and decorations, and a collection of theological and other spiritual books as the beginning of a library. Surely Providence had been kind to Bishop Carroll when it provided him, not only with a splendid seminary staff, but also with its material outfit, without entailing any outlay on his part. But M. Emery was not satisfied with providing for the physical needs of his brethren. His motives for dispatching them to the new world were nobler and loftier. His foremost aim was that they should carry on the work of St. Sulpice in the same spirit with which it had been inspired in France, the work of providing worthy and holy priests for the faithful. We cannot do better than to

translate a part of the instructions, which, along with the rules of the Society, were to be the guide of M. Nagot and the other professors: "The priests of St. Sulpice sent to found a seminary at Baltimore," wrote M. Emery, "will endeavor, above all things, to be inspired by the loftiest ideal of their vocation. They will bear in mind that their seminary is the first and will be for a long time the only institution of the kind in the United States of America, that it is intended to educate in this seminary all the apostolic laborers who in the designs of Providence are destined to strengthen Catholics in their faith, to bring back heretics to the bosom of the Church, to bear the light of the Gospel to the Redskins; in a word, to spread the kingdom of Christ and His Church in a country much larger than the whole of Europe. Therefore, they will do everything in their power to reach a high degree of sanctity, convinced that they will do more good by their holy lives than by their teaching and their exhortations. Let them often call to mind that they are destined to perpetuate the spirit and the name of their Society in the new world; and let them always keep before their eyes the rules and the practices of St. Sulpice, in order to be guided by them as far as possible. . . . Since it has pleased God to bless till now the work of the Society of St. Sulpice, experience convinces us that its spirit is good; and since its proper and characteristic aim is to concern itself only with the education of the clergy, the directors of the seminary at Baltimore will confine and consecrate themselves entirely to this work; and if at the beginning and under unusual circumstances they will find themselves compelled to take up duties foreign to this work, they must consider themselves to be under conditions out of their element, and not to be satisfied until they can return to their special mode of life. . . .

"The peculiar spirit of the Society, moreover, is a spirit of unworldliness. They will, therefore, have as little intercourse as possible with the world; and of all their pious practices, those to which they will especially devote themselves are meditation and their annual retreat. In order to strengthen themselves in their love of the inner spirit, they will adopt the

festivals in honor of the Inner life of Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin. . . .

"The seminary at Baltimore will bear the name of St. Sulpice, will be under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin, and will also accept the other patrons of St. Sulpice. . . ."

Having thus provided for their wants, both corporal and spiritual, M. Emery bade his brethren who were destined to bring the Society of St. Sulpice to the United States farewell. They embarked on April 8, 1791, at St. Malo, in Brittany, where an American vessel had been chartered. Among their fellow-passengers was the celebrated Chateaubriand, at that time a young fellow twenty years of age, for whom the Sulpicians seem to have had no charms. He himself tells us that he met them four years too late, having in the meanwhile become strong-minded, that is to say, according to his comment, weak-minded. Their voyage was long and painful, lasting three months and two days (July 10).

Bishop Carroll was still in Europe, and so the Sulpician company was welcomed at Baltimore by the Reverend Charles Sewall, resident pastor at Baltimore, who took them to a house at 94 Baltimore Street. This house has disappeared, owing to the opening of the present North Street. It was near the present city hall. Bishop Carroll had made sure of a hospitable welcome for the heads of the new seminary by announcing their coming to the faithful of his diocese. "I propose," he said, "fixing them very near to my own home, the cathedral of Baltimore, that they may be, as it were, the clergy of the Church, and contribute to the dignity of divine worship. This is a great and auspicious event for our diocese, but it is a melancholy reflection that we owe so great a blessing to the lamentable catastrophe in France."¹

M. Nagot, the designated superior of the new seminary, lost no time in finding a home for himself and his brethren in the metropolis of Maryland. Baltimore, at this time of course,

¹Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, vol. i, p. 234. Shea, J. G., "Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll," vol. ii, p. 380.

was but a village compared with the great city of to-day. M. Nagot, on looking around for a suitable site and building, for there was no time to erect a new building for the seminary, chose the place where the seminary is still located, at Paca and St. Mary's Streets, and which, in 1790, was occupied by a public house called "One Mile Tavern." This he hired at first, but shortly afterward he bought it for £850, equivalent to about \$2,266.66 at the present time. Alterations were made without delay and pushed with such vigor that on the 18th of July the Sulpicians were able to occupy their new home. Four days later M. Nagot was able to celebrate the first Mass. The other rooms were next altered according to need, furnished for the new occupants, and on the 3d of October the regular work of the seminary was begun.

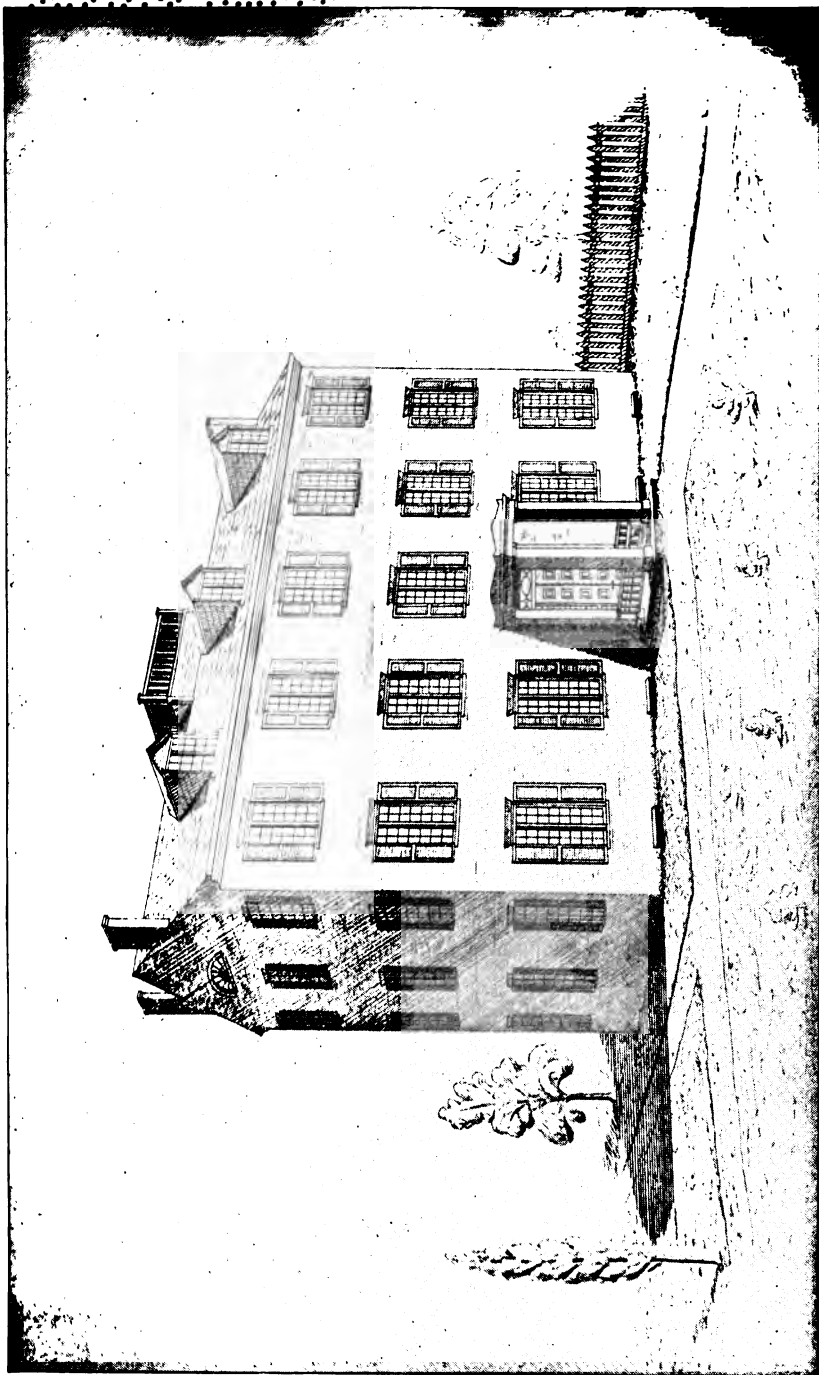
The impression made by the seminary priests from the very beginning on bishop, clergy, and laity was most favorable. As early as the 23d of April, 1792, only a few months after his return from Europe to Baltimore, Bishop Carroll wrote to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda:

"The establishment of a seminary is certainly a new and extraordinary spectacle for the people of this country; the remarkable piety of these priests is admirable, and their example is a stimulant and spur to all who feel themselves called to work in the vineyard of the Lord. Such are the great and remarkable effects of God's bounty. But what is still more important is that, owing to the establishment of this seminary, the clergy will be brought up in the purity of faith and in holiness of conduct. All our hopes are founded on the seminary of Baltimore. Since the arrival of the priests of St. Sulpice, the celebration of the offices of the Church and the dignity of divine worship have made a great impression, so that, though the church of Baltimore is hardly worthy of the name of cathedral, if we consider its style and its size, it may well be looked upon as an episcopal church in view of the number of its clergy."¹

¹André, in *L'Université Catholique*, Lyons, vol. lix, nouvelle série, pp. 574-575.

Day of California

TO VIEW
ARCHES



THE OLD HOUSE WHICH BECAME ST. MARY'S SEMINARY, BALTIMORE.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF ST. SULPICE IN THE UNITED STATES

THE Rev. M. Nagot and his fellow-professors had now permanently made their home in Baltimore and were ready for work. But before we begin the story of these pioneer Sulpicians, it seems not inappropriate to say a few words about the gentlemen of St. Sulpice and their association. In many particulars the Sulpicians are unlike the other Catholic Religious. In fact, they do not call themselves Religious and are not Religious in the canonical sense of the word. Because their lives and their work do not bring them in contact with the world, they are but little known even among the Catholic laity. If the other orders be likened to the golden sunflower, which stands in the open and challenges the attention and admiration even of the casual passer-by, the Sulpicians may be compared to the modest violet, which conceals its fascinating colors and its charming fragrance in some unobserved nook. The Sulpicians are numbered by the tens where many other Religious societies are numbered by the thousands. It is, therefore, not wonderful that they should be comparatively unknown and that it should appear needful, when beginning this record of their work in the United States, to say a few words about their aims, their peculiarities, and their history.

One of the most vital and fruitful reforms inaugurated by the Council of Trent was the decree for the reform of clerical education passed on July 15, 1563. It provided especially for the training of poor candidates for the secular priesthood. The wealthy could go to the universities and the monks to the monastic schools, while a large proportion of the secular clergy received a superficial and mostly practical education from the country pastors. It embraced the explanation of the Pater Noster, the Credo, the liturgical formulas, the Poenitentiale, the Church calendar, the liturgical chant, the ability to write documents and letters, and the explanation of the most important parts of Holy Writ, especially the Psalms.¹ When the

¹Siebengartner in Herder's *Kirchen-Lexikon*.

Reformation, therefore, invaded the rural parishes and preachers from the towns appealed to the village farmer, it was clear that the country priest must receive a new, a fuller training. In England Cardinal Pole started this new education in his diocese in 1556, and here for the first time we meet with the word "seminary" to designate an institution for the education of candidates for the priesthood. After the Council of Trent, more or less strenuous efforts were made in various countries to carry out its decree and to establish seminaries.

The decree requiring the establishment of diocesan seminaries was passed largely under the inspiration of the Cardinal of Milan, St. Charles Borromeo, in July, 1563. He was the nephew of Pope Pius IV, and strongly urged his uncle to see to the enforcement of the decree. The Pontiff readily responded, and in 1565 the Grand Seminary of Rome was founded. The Council of Trent adjourned shortly after the passage of the seminary decree, and the returning Fathers were face to face with this new practical problem. In Italy the work was taken in hand at once by several prelates, foremost among them, Cardinal Borromeo, at Milan. In 1565 he opened his Grand Seminary, which he placed in charge of the Jesuits. As the Tridentine Decree enacted that the episcopal seminaries were not to be placed in the hands of regulars except with the special sanction of the Holy See, this arrangement proved only temporary. A few years after, St. Charles placed his seminary in charge of the Oblate priests of his diocese. Like the Oratorians of St. Philip Neri, the Oblates were a society of secular priests, who lived in community, but took no permanent vow. Their superior was the archbishop. Although not founded exclusively to be seminary teachers, for they undertook all kinds of sacerdotal work, nevertheless, if the Milan seminary was to be placed in the hands of secular priests, the Oblates were evidently especially well fitted to take in hand the seminary work. We have dwelt upon this foundation, as the Oblates of St. Charles were the first society of secular priests who took in hand the education of candidates for the priesthood in episcopal

seminaries, and their example, no doubt, greatly influenced the later seminary movement in France.

In Germany the seminary movement, as we may call it, proceeded more slowly, being retarded, no doubt, by the religious wars which afflicted the country at that time. The first seminaries we learn of were rudimentary, the earliest being established at Eichstaedt, 1564; Würzburg, 1570; Breslau, 1571. Their professorial staff was limited and their disciplinary arrangements more or less experimental. However, here, as elsewhere, the organization of institutions, in the main, followed the plan of the Collegium Germanicum, founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola at Rome for German clerical students in 1552. We must not forget to state that in Germany, too, a society of secular priests had a great share in the foundation and conduct of seminaries. The first attempt at carrying out in Spain, though imperfectly, the Tridentine Decree on seminaries was not made until 1570.

In France we hear of seminary projects, first of all, at the assembly of the clergy in the year 1579, and later at various diocesan synods. Whether these resolutions brought any immediate practical fruit is not so clear. Only so much is certain, that the foundation of seminaries greatly depended on the assistance of the government.

On the other hand, it was in France that we meet, as early as 1584, with a society of secular priests organized like the Oblates of St. Charles Borromeo, and especially devoted to clerical instruction. This was the Congregation of Adrian Bourdoise, which had charge of the seminaries of Paris, Beauvais, and Chartres between 1584 and 1655. The Priests of the Mission, better known to us as Lazarists, were also approved by the Popes as a society of secular priests, one of whose objects was the government of clerical seminaries, and St. Vincent de Paul, their founder, laid down special rules which were to guide them in governing their institutions. The foundation of the Lazarists extended from 1632 to 1658. In 1611-1613 Cardinal de Berulle established in France a modified form of the Congregation of the Oratory founded by St. Philip Neri

in 1583. While St. Philip's Society, which, like the Oblates of St. Charles, was a society of secular priests, stood aloof from the seminary problem, the Oratory of Cardinal de Berulle devoted itself vigorously to the work of higher education, and especially with the view of improving the education of the clergy. Cardinal de Berulle died in 1629, at which time the Oratorians had made great progress in France, though they seem to have had little to do with seminary education.

Toward the middle of the seventeenth century, Jean Jacques Olier (1608-1657), a zealous priest who, among other reforms, had tried to put an end to the duelling mischief, had his attention drawn to the crying need of institutions for the education of the secular clergy in France. He was a close friend of St. Vincent de Paul, who was no less convinced than the Abbé Olier that immediate steps should be taken to supply the wants of the French clergy in this direction and to carry out the decree of the Council of Trent more perfectly. In fact, as what we have said shows, the idea of meeting this pressing want was in the air in France about the middle of the seventeenth century. It led to the foundation of the Vincentian Congregation by St. Vincent de Paul and of the Sulpician Society, in 1642, by the Abbé Olier.

The missionary experiences of M. Olier and of St. Vincent de Paul impressed upon them the necessity of speedily remedying the evils that had sprung from the inadequate training of the clergy, especially of the lower and country clergy. Both had for a number of years been engaged in missionary labors in different parts of France, in the north, in the south, in the east, and in the west, in city and country. Being keen observers, endowed with sound judgment, as well as men of action, they set to work without delay. In 1642 the Abbé Olier was called to be the pastor of the parish of St. Sulpice at Paris. It was at the time looked upon as the least godly parish in the metropolis, and M. Olier at first felt disinclined to shoulder the burden. But becoming convinced that it was God's will that he should undertake the work, he took it in hand with vigor and wisdom. Some of his old missionary friends, all men full

of the same spirit and zeal as the pastor himself and full of the same ideas regarding the education of the French clergy, joined him at St. Sulpice, ready to help him realize his schemes. In a short time the parish of St. Sulpice was reformed, and they were prepared to inaugurate the work of training the young Levites for the Church of France. As M. Olier was eminently a practical man, his new position as pastor of St. Sulpice was utilized by him to help along the scheme which filled his heart and mind more than all others. He made the education of his seminary students directly practical by associating them with himself in the care of the parish. Sunday after Sunday they came from the seminary to take part, according to their degree, in the services of the church, familiarizing themselves with the liturgy and lending additional grandeur to the offices of the Church. They catechised the young people of the parish so that they became well instructed in the commandments of God and the Church. This system turned out so fruitful in its results that it was continued as long as the seminary maintained its connection with the church of St. Sulpice. In fact, it gave to the new association of seminary teachers the name of "Society of St. Sulpice."

The new Society was not the product of any theories. It was built up on the experience the founder had gathered in his missionary days, on the experience which he was gathering as the practical shepherd of souls in his new parish. Like a thoroughly practical man, he did not bind the new institute by hard and fast lines from the beginning, but left the rules and regulations of the Society to be developed by the test of time. But he had a clear conception of what he meant to accomplish. He meant to train up clergymen thoroughly fitted to fulfil the essential duty of the priest of Christ, that is to say, to sanctify and make like unto Christ the faithful permitted to his charge. His experience as a missionary had proven that this meant the instruction of the faithful in their duties in the law of God, but it meant also the training of their wills so as to carry out Christ's precepts. This training of the will, he was convinced, could best be done by means of example, and therefore the

young Levites entrusted to his care must first of all sanctify themselves, and in order that their teachers might aid them to achieve this, they, too, must be an example to their pupils. Consequently, the seminary priests must live in the midst of their pupils, pray with them, eat with them, study with them, in short, live with them. The most marked difference between them and their scholars was that the latter were seminarians only for a few years, while the Sulpician professor is a seminarian for life. It follows from this that the true Sulpician must spend all his time with or for his pupils, that he must cut himself off from the world, that he must daily strive to fit himself better for the lofty task assigned to him by God, that he must have no ambition except the ambition to develop his young charges into true and loyal servants of God's people. Hence, except in very unusual circumstances, a Sulpician once is a Sulpician for life, and neither mitres nor benefices have any attraction for him. Holding that the spiritual growth of the young clerics should be the main and only end of the Sulpician teacher, M. Olier felt satisfied that when a Sulpician begins to doubt his vocation his usefulness as a trainer of priests is at an end. He made it a rule, therefore, that any gentleman of St. Sulpice might withdraw according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that, therefore, Sulpicians should make no vows. He felt convinced that men imbued with the spirit of these rules and guiding their lives by them would find little use for money or property, except for benevolent purposes. Therefore, he did not require his brethren to take the vow of poverty. In short, they were secular priests like other secular priests, except that Sulpicians, while they remained Sulpicians, lived in community and bound themselves to obey their superiors. At the same time, the Sulpician superior regularly couched his orders in the form of requests, and we have the word of the historians of St. Sulpice that these requests were complied with as if they were sacred commands. In fact, notwithstanding the freedom allowed to the Sulpician to withdraw when he pleases, he rarely makes use of this right. Even during the terrors of the French Revolution, when out of some one

hundred and twenty Sulpicians eighteen fell victims to the gallows or the guillotine, and many more sturdily showed their loyalty before the revolutionary tribunal, no Sulpicians took the constitutional oath of the clergy, nor did any of them give up their sacred duties to become men of the world. After the restoration, the scattered members of the Society, with almost no exceptions, resumed their old work in the seminaries.

Another cardinal principle laid down by Olier and rigidly adhered to by his successors was that the gentlemen of St. Sulpice must have one and only one aim as a society. St. Sulpice was founded to train priests, and for no other purpose. If a gentleman who had joined the Society was found to be possessed of unusual oratorical gifts, so that he might render more efficient service to God and the Church as an orator than as a seminary professor, he was entirely free to withdraw, and in some cases he was actually advised to do so. Bishop Fournier of Montpellier, in whose arms M. Emery died, was advised by the latter to become a secular priest because of his great eloquence. But the Fathers of St. Sulpice were almost universally convinced that as seminary professors, that as trainers of the men destined to be the shepherds of God's flock, they were able to do more and greater good, and good extending to more men, than they could do as bishops and prelates, though they revered the episcopate as the perfection of the priesthood.

Of course, a body of men exclusively devoted to one purpose, the training of the clergy, could not be a numerous body, especially as M. Olier had no intention to send his brethren outside of France and its colonies. Indeed, the United States, with the exception of Canada, is the only country outside of France where the Society of St. Sulpice has taken charge of seminaries. Moreover, the Council of Trent placed the organization and control of clerical seminaries entirely in the hands of the bishops. If, therefore, the gentlemen of St. Sulpice had charge of a diocesan seminary, it was in accordance with a contract or agreement made with the bishop, and such an agreement, of course, was not necessarily perpetual. The natural result was that the Sulpicians at no time since their

foundation controlled all or even the majority of the French seminaries. In 1791, when the Society was dispersed by the French Revolution, it numbered sixteen theological seminaries and ten other houses for clerical education in France.¹ In 1904, when the third French Republic dissolved the Sulpician seminaries, they numbered about thirty. It may not be possible to gather absolutely accurate statistics on this point, but it is safe to assume that the Society never counted more than 430 members. Indeed, the earlier superiors-general seemed to have limited the membership to seventy-two, to which must be added the superior and his twelve assistants.

We must draw attention to another point. As we have seen, the life of a Sulpician was designedly a quiet, retired life, without worldly interests, craving for no wealth or worldly fortune, aiming not at fame or *éclat*; it did not encourage the publication of theological or other literary works by its professors. Indeed, many manuscripts, containing valuable treatises on the various provinces of theology, written by men respected as eminent scholars and teachers in their day, are still preserved in the archives of St. Sulpice. It may be correctly stated that the publications of the Sulpicians are not a fair standard of their learning and that this is due to the love of retirement which is the characteristic of the Society.

Another peculiarity on which the Society prides itself is its disinterestedness. The houses of the Sulpicians are often theirs only in virtue of their agreement with the diocesan bishops. They are, therefore, partly under episcopal control. Their property as a corporation is owned by them less absolutely. Their restriction to one purpose is a limit to their extension and to acquisition of property. While the individual Sulpician may own property and sometimes devise it to his Society when dying, the order, as a whole, has never become wealthy. It has been a principle with the Sulpicians, in the case of bequests, never to enforce these bequests by law-suits, even if the testator was a member of the order. The Sulpicians have readily surrendered the directions of congregations founded by them, such

¹Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, vol. i, p. 451.

as that of the Colored Oblate Sisters of Providence and the Seton Sisters of Charity, and have given up colleges, like Mt. St. Mary's College and St. Mary's College, Baltimore, because to maintain them was somewhat out of harmony with their principles.

Readers of Sulpician history must be struck by the circumstance that these gentlemen in their histories and biographies of the Society are usually called directors, not professors. Still, we should not be surprised thereat. The professor suggests the man of learning, the director the guide. Now, highly as M. Olier and his successors valued learning, they do not speak of teaching the young clerics, but of *forming* them, *i.e.* of moulding their character, of making them good, holy, wise men, capable of spreading holiness and justice in the world which was to be the scene of their labors. The word "director," therefore, was eminently suitable for the men that formed the Society of St. Sulpice, because it emphasized the side of their work on which they laid the greatest stress.

We have endeavored in this brief sketch to bring out the most salient features in the spirit and the life of the Society which was destined, under the direction of Bishop Carroll and the Abbé Emery, to play such an important rôle in laying the foundations of Catholicism in the United States. The principles and rules which we have set forth above as the guiding ideas of M. Olier's Society did not, as Minerva leaped full-armed from Jupiter's head, come as a complete and ripe system from his pen. They were rather the accumulation of wisdom on the basis of experience. Olier became pastor of St. Sulpice in 1642; ill health forced him to leave his dearly beloved seminary and church in 1647, only five years after he began to realize the project of his Society and ten years before his death. He never drafted a constitution or by-laws for the organization that he was creating. He himself was the living constitution and the living rule of the Society. His friends, de Bretonvilliers and Tronson, were the depositories of his thoughts, the confidants of his views, and the witnesses of his practice. When, therefore, Rome, through Cardinal Chigi, its

nuncio in France, approved the Society of St. Sulpice on August 3, 1664, and when the Parliament of Paris gave them its sanction in 1708, a constitution and rules had to be submitted to these authorities, it was M. de Bretonvilliers, the first, and M. Lechassier, the third, successor of M. Olier, who drew up the required documents. It is touching to read in the records of MM. de Bretonvilliers and Tronson, his successor, the evidence of the veneration and the faith they had in their beloved master and friend. Olier's practices became rules and Olier's suggestions principles, and all this without any superstition, for Olier was indeed a wonderful fountain of sanctity and wisdom, which he distilled into his friends and associates, and they into their successors.

We can now picture their disciples before our mind's eye, men devoted to Christ's cause and that of His Church, pious and devout, with a special devotion to the Madonna, modest, disinterested, retiring, straightforward, and simple, without ambition and without guile; men of learning, too, life-long students, working not for reputation, not for vanity, not for wealth, but for the Kingdom of God.

When we come to the further history of the Society of St. Sulpice, it will not long detain us. In the epigrammatic sense of the current phrase, we may say that it has no past. No scandals, nay, not even accusations, mar the simplicity and purity of its records. Its soul was charity and its works were free from bitterness. Love of God and His truth were their animating principle and the spirit of God, which sheds the sunlight and pours out the fertilizing rain even on his erring children, filled the hearts of its sons. They were true and devoted sons of St. Peter and his successors, and defended the rights and authority of the Roman See. But, like Pius X, they trusted rather to the all-prevailing power of truth and gentleness than to the efficiency of the slashing, controversial pen. In the Jansenist controversy their position was never doubtful, but they were proclaimers of the truth, rather than assailants of the champions of error. They sought to put down heresy, rather than the heretic. They were Gallicans, like the vast majority

of the French bishops and clergy, like Bossuet and Fénelon, but much more moderate and much less inclined to be the tools of kings and parliaments. They were retiring, studious, and conscientious scholars, filling the hearts and the minds of the young Levites entrusted to them with their own spirit, with their modesty, their simplicity, their unworldliness, their love of truth, and their love of the Church. The quality of their work begot the admiration of the wisest and the best of the French bishops, who had entrusted fully sixteen seminaries to them before the wild orgies of the Revolution played havoc with all that was lofty and holy. Until the rise of the Terror, they had worked for the cause of the Church, steadily but peacefully. But when the day of death and danger came, when the most pacific of men could no longer profess and practice the religion of the Prince of Peace without exposing themselves to denunciation and death, then perhaps the boldest champion who stood for right and for truth was the diminutive superior-general of the Sulpicians, the Abbé Emery, who quailed neither before Robespierre nor before Napoleon Bonaparte. The greatness of St. Sulpice shone forth most brightly in the days of adversity and trial. The story of St. Sulpice is essentially a story of peace and loyal work; and, therefore, as the world's history is the story of war and bloodshed and strife, rather than of tranquillity, union, and harmony, as its heroes are the wielders of the sword and the destroyers of mankind, rather than the promoters of charity and good-will, so history has not found in the Sulpicians a profitable and attractive theme. But this will not prevent the thinking man who can delve beneath the surface from recognizing their merits and from concluding that the Society, which for 150 years trained the best and most virtuous elements of the French clergy, which had given to France a succession of holy and zealous bishops, fifty-nine of whom suffered exile in the day of trial, was indeed a living source of countless blessings to the Church of France. They sought not the glare of publicity, but their modest, humble, persistent works were registered in the hearts of their pupils and in the Book of Life.

Before we take up again the story of the Baltimore Sulpicians, we must not fail to remark that almost from its foundation the Society was destined to extend its activity to the new world, and even to the territory which subsequently became the United States. As early as 1636, six years before taking up his residence at St. Sulpice, M. Olier had become interested with de la Dauversière in the project of establishing on the island of Montreal a city to be called Ville-Marie. This town was to be the focus of missionary activity, embracing in its purview all the Indian tribes within reach of Montreal, for the island of Montreal had for many years served as a trysting-place for the Indian and French traders. After various delays and negotiations, in 1641 the new enterprise was launched, under the direction of the knightly and pious de Maisonneuve and the devoted Mlle. Mance, the Jesuit Father Vimont celebrating the first Mass in the new colony. In 1657, to which time the settlement remained in the charge of the Jesuits, the managers offered the spiritual direction of the island to the Sulpicians. The first superior was M. de Queylus de Montmorency. He and his companions, of course, at first acted as missionaries, and in 1661 two of them were massacred by the Iroquois. These missions before long brought them to districts bordering on what is now the United States, or even into the territory now comprised within the American Republic. As early as 1668, M. de Queylus sent two of his priests, MM. Trouvé and de Salignac-Fénelon, to found a mission at Kent Bay on Lake Ontario. M. de Salignac-Fénelon, by the way, was a younger brother of the great Archbishop of Cambrai, who had himself been a pupil of the Sulpicians. M. de Salignac-Fénelon and his confrère extended their missionary labors as far as Niagara Falls, and were thus probably the first Sulpicians who set foot on the territory of the great American Republic. It is interesting to learn that even now one of the feeders of Lake Ontario bears the name of Fenelon, after this enterprising missionary. Among the settlements founded by the Sulpicians shortly after, we must not forget that which has since become the city of Ogdensburg and which is certainly within the limits of the

American Union. About the same time, the Sulpician Fathers gathered about them in settlements reserved for them great numbers of Redskins, coming from what is now United States territory. We readily recognize among them tribes like the Hurons, Iroquois, Algonquins, Nipissings, Sioux, Miamis, and Flat-heads, whose hunting grounds certainly extended into our territory.

We cannot, of course, give an account of all the Sulpician missions in eastern Canada which did not come in contact with the country that now belongs to the United States. We must not, however, fail to draw attention to the Sulpician missionaries who brought the Gospel to the Micmacs and other Indian tribes in the north of Maine. They and their Jesuit confrères so strongly imbued these kindly redskins with Christian love and faith that many years after the missions were given up and the neophytes left to themselves they implored Bishop Carroll to send them again their beloved Black Robes.

In the west, we must draw attention to the part which Sulpicians and their scholars took in the exploration of the Mississippi valley. The name of René-Robert Cavalier Sieur de la Salle is a household word in American history as that of the man who first descended the Mississippi to its delta. Subsequently, he undertook to explore the Mississippi, starting from the south, and on this occasion M. Tronson, the third superior-general of St. Sulpice, detailed de la Salle's brother, the Abbé Jean Cavalier de la Salle, and his two nephews, the former a Sulpician belonging to the Montreal seminary, the latter inmates of the seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris. M. Tronson had intended to found a mission in Louisiana, but the murder of de la Salle in 1687 forced him to give up the project.

It appears, therefore, that the Society of St. Sulpice had not been strangers to the soil of the United States when in 1791, as we have seen, they settled in Baltimore. When, on October 3d of that year, the regular academic exercises were opened the seminary had a full staff of professors, but only the students that they had brought with them from France. Father Nagot and his colleagues, strictly following the instructions of M.

Emery, carried out the rules, the religious exercises, and the course of studies so familiar to them in the seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris. They rose and retired at the same hours, they took their meals with the students at the same hours, they practiced the same ascetic virtues and were animated by the same spirit of piety and devotion. So far as the spirit, management, and direction of the seminary was concerned, everything went without flaw and promised the best result for the future. What Bishop Carroll thought of the conduct of his seminary, which he so justly considered to be one of the foundation stones of the Church of the United States, is clearly and strongly expressed in the letter quoted at the end of our first chapter. And yet it soon became evident that sore days of trial awaited the new institution. A seminary is made up not only of professors, but also of students, and the students are just as necessary for its success as the faculty. In the students, or rather in the absence of students, lay the danger threatening the seminary of Baltimore. Father Nagot began the spiritual retreat for the seminaries on December 10, 1791, and on December 15 he dedicated the chapel. But the retreat was followed only by the students brought by him from France, and perhaps by only a part of them, for the name of neither Mr. Caldwell nor of Mr. Tulloh, who accompanied the Sulpicians from St. Malo, are found in the list of priests ordained at St. Mary's Seminary. From other sources no students were added to this diminutive roll. When in the following year three new seminarians appear, we still find no American; two were Frenchmen, M. Barret and M. Stephen Badin, ordained in 1793 as the first American priest. The third was the celebrated Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, whose father was the Russian ambassador at The Hague and whose mother was the Princess Gallitzin, one of the foremost members of the Catholic literary circle at Münster in Westphalia, and the friend of Goethe and the Schlegels. He came to the United States under the name of Smith, for the purpose of studying the conditions in the new republic. In the course of his travels he was converted, received into the Baltimore seminary, and ordained in

1795. He even joined the Society of St. Sulpice, but Bishop Carroll made him promise to devote himself to missionary labor. From 1795 to 1798 only M. Mondesir, who arrived with M. Nagot, was ordained, so that for several years he must have been the only student in the seminary. Indeed, some authorities tell us that the seminary was wholly without students at this time. In 1800 we find the name of Matthews, probably the first American-born student educated at St. Mary's.

If it be asked why candidates for the priesthood at Baltimore were not forthcoming during the last years of the eighteenth century, it is not difficult to find an answer. Owing to the revolutionary troubles in Europe, young American Catholics could not pursue their preliminary studies in the old haunts of American students on the continent of Europe. In the United States, it is true, Bishop Carroll had founded Georgetown College in 1789. But the short time elapsed since then was insufficient to provide an adequate number of graduates to supply the needed recruits for the seminary. In fact, when Georgetown began to send forth graduates, the instructors needed for the college itself were to be found only in the ranks of its alumni, and if they meant to study theology they did this at the college itself, at the same time teaching the younger students. Of course, this might have been foreseen. But the zeal and enthusiasm of Bishop Carroll, as well as of M. Emery, probably led them to entertain the hope that students might appear from other sources.

Meantime M. Emery sent new supplies of professors to Baltimore. Thus on March 29, 1792, in company with MM. Badin and Barret, came Fathers Chicoisneau, David, and Flaget, and on the 24th of June of the same year arrived Fathers Maréchal, Richard, and Ciquard, while Father Dubourg, afterward bishop of New Orleans, arrived in December, 1794, and joined the Society of St. Sulpice in 1795. Of course, M. Emery knew full well that all these gentlemen could not find work as professors in St. Mary's Seminary. Indeed, notwithstanding his vigorous insistence that the training of theological students was the sole aim of his Society, he had assented to the plan of send-

ing Levadoux, Richard, and Chicoisneau as missionaries to the west in the Mississippi Valley. Here there were many French and French-Canadian settlers who were sadly in want of pastoral care and many Indians who had been converted to Christianity by the old French missionaries. To bring them the needed spiritual aid, he thought, would be continuing the old Sulpician missions of Canada, and therefore the work of M. Olier. To Bishop Carroll this work was most welcome, for hitherto he had been unable to do much for the evangelization of these western districts. Accordingly, Fathers Chicoisneau and Flaget without delay set out for their new sphere of action, where we shall leave them for the present. But the other Sulpicians, even the original companions of Father Nagot, sought for work outside of the seminary also. Father David took charge of the village of Secaia in lower Maryland, and developed a wonderful activity, giving four retreats a year to his parishioners.

Father Garnier, one of the seminary professors, founded the parish of St. Patrick in the lower part of Baltimore called Fell's Point, and built a church for the faithful. At intervals, in conformity with Bishop Carroll's desires, he turned his steps to districts lying farther away from Baltimore, where he attended to the spiritual wants of the people. Neither fatigue nor the terrors of the yellow fever hindered him in the performance of these duties. Father Tessier, another member of St. Mary's faculty, in company with M. Chicoisneau, organized a little parish inside of the seminary itself, where they busied themselves especially with instructing the faithful. Later he became interested in the negroes, and together with Father Dubourg established a small negro parish. This he attended till the end of his life, at least so far as the negroes were concerned; for the white Catholics, who had in the course of time mingled with their black fellow-Catholics, he passed into the hands of other priests.

Father Ciquard was sent by Bishop Carroll to the northeast extremity of his all-embracing diocese, to the forests of Maine. Here the remnants of the Micmacs, who had received

the Christian faith, in part at least, from Sulpician missionaries and had preserved it for many years after the English drove out the French, had sent envoys to beg Bishop Carroll to send them some Black Robes. The bishop sent M. Ciquard, who remained with them until he joined his brethren at Montreal.

One of the later Sulpician arrivals, Father Maréchal, destined to be the second successor of Bishop Carroll, the latter sent to St. Mary's on the western Maryland shore, one of the old Jesuit settlements. Here he became the beloved pastor of the old Maryland Catholics who had been so long attended by the English Fathers of the Society of Jesus. Subsequently, he attended old Jesuit missions in Pennsylvania, especially at Bohemia and in Philadelphia. In 1802 he was sent to Georgetown, where he taught philosophy.

Father Flaget, who arrived in the United States in 1793, was destined by M. Emery for the western missions in the Illinois country, and thither he went shortly after his arrival. Only two years later, however, he was recalled from the west by Bishop Carroll and named vice-president of Georgetown College, where he worked for two years. In 1799 we find them teaching theology in St. Mary's Seminary and in 1802-1808 his name appears as one of the professors of St. Mary's College.

In 1795 Father Nagot, the American superior, with the consent of the superior-general, Father Emery, received into the Society of St. Sulpice Fr. Dubourg, who later on became bishop of New Orleans. This energetic and eloquent clergyman had been for several years the president of a boy's seminary at Issy, having been appointed to the position by M. Nagot, though he was not yet a Sulpician. In 1792, when so many of the Sulpicians were imprisoned and slain in Paris, M. Dubourg, dressed as a fiddler, had a narrow escape; in 1794 he reached America; in 1795, being a man of great executive capacity and of a very attractive manner, he was placed at the head of Georgetown College by Bishop Carroll, who had great confidence in him. He resigned this position in January, 1798, when his name appears as one of the staff of St. Mary's Semi-

nary, along with Bishop Flaget's. However, both of these gentlemen about this time went to Cuba to assist another Sulpician exile, M. Babad, to found a college at Havana. The enterprise proved a failure, for the Spanish Government, suspecting the three Sulpicians because they were Frenchmen, forbade them to carry on their educational work, and MM. Dubourg and Flaget returned to Baltimore. They had made a very favorable impression on the inhabitants of Havana, however, and brought with them a dozen Cuban boys, with whom M. Dubourg attempted to open an academy. Bishop Carroll looked with disfavor on this project, as it appeared to him likely to enter into competition with Georgetown College. But to enable the Sulpicians to recover their outlay on the new institution, he permitted them to carry on the scheme for two years.

Fathers Levadoux and Richard, the latter of whom arrived in the United States on June 24, 1792, shortly afterward turned their way westward, where we find them first at Louisville and later at Vincennes, Detroit, Sault Ste. Marie, and other places, busily engaged in the French and Indian missions.

Two other Sulpicians, MM. Dilhet and Olivier, were also sent to the west, where they worked in conjunction with MM. Levadoux and Richard. After his ordination in 1795, Prince Gallitzin, who had become a member of the Society of St. Sulpice, immediately began his activity as missionary in Pennsylvania and Virginia. His ability and zeal were a guarantee of his success, and his name has become a household word in Pennsylvania because of his successful establishment of the colony of Loretto.

Eleven of the twelve Sulpicians who during the last decade of the eighteenth century had sought our shores were thus either wholly or partly engaged in ministering to the wants of the faithful in the vastly extended new republic. They worked as missionaries in far eastern Maine, on the Great Lakes, in the valley of the Mississippi, in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; they worked as missionaries among the Whites, the Blacks, and the Redskins, as evangelizers among Catholics and Protestants; they became the masters of the American youth in

Bishop Carroll's deeply cherished College of Georgetown. Even the venerable superior, Father Nagot, besides the care of his Society and his seminary at Baltimore, assisted the American bishop in the work of the cathedral and took part in the earliest synods gathered by him in the capitol of the American Church. But Father Nagot, and still more the head of the Society, M. Emery, felt that they were drifting away from the primary and chief object of the Sulpician Society. The one had come to the new world and the other sent thither his brethren to be the pioneers in the work of the clerical education of the new Church. They spared neither effort nor money nor prayers to found St. Mary's Ecclesiastical Seminary; they had dreamed of providing the Church of the new republic with a learned and zealous national clergy, and now the halls of St. Mary's were practically vacant; and the day when these lifelong trainers and teachers of worthy ecclesiastics might expect efficiently to fulfil their chosen vocation seeming more and more to recede, naturally filled them with sad misgivings and forebodings.

As the years advanced, affairs mended in France. The advent of Napoleon and the conclusion of the Concordat again opened the French seminaries. After the bloodshed and desolation of the Revolution, the want of an active, youthful and expanding French clergy cried aloud for the reopening and creation of seminaries. M. Emery was appealed to from many quarters to furnish his well-tried and experienced ecclesiastical educators to revive clerical activities in his native country. But his Society had been paralyzed for a dozen of years, and few recruits had come to devote themselves to the absolutely necessary seminary work. Naturally, his eyes wandered across the great western main, where so many of his brethren consecrated to clerical education were working hard, but working for ends which, however laudable, were foreign to the primary aims of the Society. All these considerations naturally had the tendency to make him feel that he and his brethren were practically faithless to the very purpose of the Society and that the American St. Sulpice was betraying the cause of ecclesiastical education. He exchanged views with his dear old lieutenant, Fr. Nagot,

and that gentle soul, who up to the age of sixty had devoted his time and his entire self to the work of the Sulpician seminary, could not conceal from himself that the American Sulpicians, whilst strenuous workers in the vineyard of the Lord, were not faithful disciples of the reverend M. Olier.

What was to be done? M. Emery had long ago become convinced that it was impossible to make bricks without straw; in other words, that the Grand Seminary presupposed the Petit Seminary or its equivalent. He had, therefore, impressed upon the Sulpicians who went westward the necessity of starting ecclesiastical academies for boys who showed signs of a priestly vocation. There are letters extant impressing this necessity upon Bishop Flaget and others. The old superior-general, notwithstanding his occasional disgust and horror at the revolutionary goings-on in France, always remained a loyal Frenchman, and this made him feel that, though the eastern United States might prove but barren soil for priestly vocations, the settlements of the French-Canadians in the west would turn out to be all the more productive. But the facts did not answer his expectations, and the story of New Orleans and of the experiences of Father Gibault demonstrate that there was no violent devotion to the Church to be looked for in the valley of the Mississippi. The failure of his disciples in the west to build up boys' seminaries was very discouraging to M. Emery and M. Nagot. Bishop Carroll's check to M. Dubourg's attempt to create an academy at Baltimore, for which he had brought twelve Cubans from Havana, was by no means likely to ease the old superior's mind. Georgetown furnished no students to St. Mary's Seminary; the west furnished no students, and now the Baltimore Sulpicians were not permitted to help themselves. Was it not evident that at this rate the St. Sulpice of America could no longer be the St. Sulpice of M. Olier? That the men who had devoted themselves to the education of the priesthood must inevitably become missionaries and parish priests? And while every new message from America impressed this sad picture of failure and faithlessness more deeply on his mind, the bishops of France from day to day cried more

loudly for the fulfillment of M. Olier's schemes for the creation of new seminaries for the summoning of his brethren to do the work for which they had become Sulpicians.

Of course, these views and feelings found their expression in M. Emery's correspondence with Bishop Carroll and with Father Nagot. By vocation and lifelong practice, M. Nagot was a Sulpician and sympathized with the feelings and schemes of his superior. On the other hand, was Bishop Carroll wanting in sympathy with M. Emery's views? He had been too good a Jesuit not to appreciate loyalty to one's order. But what impressed the American prelate more than the necessities of the Society of St. Sulpice were the necessities of his diocese, the necessity of his flock spread over a large part of the continent. What was he to do? All in all, he had but a few priests. What could he do if at one fell swoop twelve priests were taken away from him, twelve of the most efficient helps in his apostolic work? There have come down to us four letters, two from the Bishop of Baltimore to M. Emery, and two from the Sulpician superior to Bishop Carroll, which are in a way the pathetic expression of the mental struggle that went on at this time in these equally well intentioned and zealous men. We cannot do better than to present them to our readers now.

M. EMERY TO BISHOP CARROLL, AUGUST 9, 1800

"I had advised our gentlemen to bring up in their house young men showing a disposition to become priests according to the wish of the Council of Trent; but M. Nagot has informed me that you declined to authorize this policy because you feared in this way to injure the interest of Georgetown College. I respect your intentions, Monseigneur; I respect your wisdom, and at this distance from Baltimore it does not become me to judge of the reasons which led you to object to our plan; but it seems to me that what outweighs every other consideration is the creation of an American clergy; for what is a diocese whose priests are all strangers, many of them unknown, and who are brought there by circumstances of a passing nature?

"M. Nagot tells me that it was believed possible to escape this difficulty by educating a certain number of young men without reference to the priestly vocation, because it is hoped to pay for the expenses of seminary students from the profit thus made. But I noticed from his letters that all this was not done without some dissatisfaction on your part. In regard to this I have the honor to assure you, Monseigneur, I shall never approve any undertaking of our gentlemen which meets with your sincere and constant opposition. Such approval on my side would be entirely opposed to the spirit of our Society, which can do nothing except in harmony with the bishops. I have, therefore, not approved the establishment of the academy because it lacked your approval."¹

BISHOP CARROLL TO M. EMERY, JANUARY, 1801

"I am not astonished that you have been pained because the seminary founded at the cost of so many sacrifices on your part and such promising hopes has been without students for so long a time. Like yourself, I am thoroughly persuaded of the little reliance to be placed on the recruits which come from Europe, so to say, by accident, and of the great advantages to be derived from the priests brought up in the spirit and under the discipline of the seminary. I declare to you, as I have always said everywhere, that I have never seen or known anywhere men better able by their character, their talents, and their virtues to train ecclesiastics, such as religion requires at present, than the gentlemen of your Society. Therefore, I believe that it would be one of the greatest misfortunes that could happen to this diocese if it were to lose them. I have these feelings so strongly impressed on my mind that I was frightened when I heard that for a short time you had intended to recall them. I earnestly beg of you to give up this thought and to feel sure that in the end they will fulfil the purpose of your Society and the views you had when you sent them here."²

¹Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, vol. ii, p. 102 ff.

²Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, vol. ii, p. 103 ff.

BISHOP CARROLL TO M. EMERY, SEPTEMBER, 1801

" . . . I conjure you by the bowels of Our Lord not to take all of them away from us, and if it is necessary for me to undergo the trial of losing the greater number, I beg of you to leave us at least a seed, which may yield fruit in the season decreed by the Lord. . . ."¹

In a later letter, when M. Emery continued to insist on the return of the American Sulpicians, the bishop takes a sharper tone and complains of the entire suppression of an institution, on the lasting character of which he had always counted, and declares that if the Sulpicians went back to Europe the only monument they would leave behind them would be a college. In reply M. Emery, to justify his action, wrote the following letter:

M. EMERY TO BISHOP CARROLL, FEBRUARY 2, 1803

" . . . I come to the root of the matter; surely in the entire course of the French Revolution nothing was done similar to what we did for you and your diocese. A small Society like ours, in fact, the smallest Society of all, offers to establish a seminary in your diocese; it sends you quite a large number of members; it even sends you seminarians to enable you to start the seminary work at once; the Society sends them at its own expense; it undertakes to support these members, and, in fact, has ever since then supported them; it sacrifices to this institution the greater part of its savings and gives nearly 100,000 francs. What is the result of all this? At the end of ten years things stand as they did on the first day. At present there is no question of giving up the Baltimore Seminary, because that seminary, in truth, has never existed; there is question only of giving up the project of the seminary. From time to time promises were made that students should be sent there; we were made to regard this as a grace and favor; but the students did not come, and difficulties arose where we should have least expected them. You tell me, Monseigneur, that the Society will leave behind it no monument except a

¹Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, vol. ii, p. 104.

college. I hope that you will bear in mind to some degree all the services which its members have rendered you during ten years. If there is question of complaining, it seems to me that I have a right to complain, since at the end of a ten years' stay, and after many promises, we have done nothing and been able to do nothing of all that we meant to do when entering your diocese. However, I am very far from finding fault with you; we know that you have not been able to do what you wished, and we are always grateful to you for all the kindness you have shown us."¹

Black clouds threatening the very existence of St. Mary's Seminary, it is clear from this correspondence, had arisen and disaster seemed to be in the air. What power could disperse the clouds and restore serene skies to the troubled atmosphere? The Father of Christendom, Pope Pius VII, proved to be the savior. In 1804 the much-tried Pontiff came to Paris to assist at Napoleon's coronation. M. Emery, like a true and loyal son, took the first opportunity to call upon him, and he discussed with him the interests of the Church in France and America. He placed before him his scheme of infusing new life into the French seminaries by recalling the Sulpicians he had sent to America and giving up St. Mary's Seminary. "My son," said the venerable Pontiff, "let it stand—yes, let that seminary stand; for it will bear fruit in its own time. To recall its directors in order to employ them here in other seminaries would be to rob Peter to pay Paul."

To M. Emery, the Pope's words were a command from heaven. St. Mary's Seminary stood and brought forth fruit a hundred-fold.

¹Gosselin, *Vie de M. Emery*, vol. ii, p. 104 ff.

THE
MUSEUM
OF
ARTS
AND
CRAFTS



LE MOYNE D'IBERVILLE

BY REV. THOMAS J. CAMPBELL, S.J.

OPPOSITE the great church of Notre Dame in Montreal stands the splendid monument of Maisonneuve, the founder of the city. At its base is the crouching figure of a man grasping a reaping hook. Cut in the granite beneath is the name "Le Moyne." It is Charles Le Moyne, the father of Le Moyne d'Iberville.

Why Charles Le Moyne should be represented with an agricultural implement in his hand is hard to conjecture, for he was not professedly a *cultivateur*. He had, on the contrary, an unusual record of many a brave fight with the Indians, and perhaps the reaping hook had some physical connection with the back of the Iroquois chief represented on the other side of the monument. Moreover, apart from his prowess as a warrior, Le Moyne was also remarkable for his diplomatic skill in inducing the red men to bury the hatchet and to live on terms of amity with the colonists. For such services he had been ennobled by Louis XIV, and had successively received the grant of many seigneuries, such as Longueuil, Serigny, Chateaugay, Ste. Helène, etc. In 1654 he married Catherine Primot, who had reached the mature age of thirteen. They had fourteen children. Most of the sons added to the family name a title taken from one or other of their father's seigneuries. Thus there is Le Moyne de Bienville, the founder of New Orleans; Le Moyne de Ste. Helène, Le Moyne de Maricourt, Le Moyne de Chateaugay, etc. They were all distinguished men, but the greatest of all was the third son, Pierre, or Le Moyne d'Iberville, whose life is as romantic and as heroic as anything in history.

Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville was born in Montreal, July 16, 1661, and was a midshipman in the French navy at fourteen. Before he was twenty-two he had crossed the ocean several times

in command of ships, and was recommended for promotion by the Governor of Canada, de la Barre.

Just then the Hudson Bay Company had been chartered by Charles II at the suggestion of Radisson, a discontented and ill-used Canadian trapper. The domain given for its operations was almost all the northern part of the continent. The result was an explosion of wrath throughout the colony. Hitherto the rival companies were all Canadian and the *Compagnie de la Nouvelle France* had a charter from Louis XIII dated April 29, 1627, that is to say, forty-three years before the new one established by Charles II. Now an outsider was in the field, and it meant the ruin, not only of commerce, but of the colony itself. The extent of the financial interests involved may be estimated from the fact that in the single summer of 1663 Radisson, prior to his defection, is said to have brought into Three Rivers \$400,000 of furs.

In 1685 three ships were sent out to enforce the company's claims. They had just passed the Straits and sought the shelter of Digges Island, which is the first land met with after rounding Cape Walsingham, when suddenly two ships appeared flying the French flag. "It is Lamartinière!" cried the English sailors, and immediately they turned back on their course and with every sail set made for the shelter of the Straits. Lamartinière followed in hot pursuit. One ship was caught and in the fight that ensued fourteen Englishmen were bayoneted and flung into the sea. The other vessels escaped and the victors sailed back with their prize to Quebec. This was on July 27, 1685.

With that characteristic absence of thoroughness which marked so much of the political and military methods of Colonial Canada, Lamartinière thought, at least so it would appear, that he had done enough to ensure French tenure of the Bay when he had captured one ship of the enemy and driven off the others. But it is quite possible that, as the battle was fought so far north, he was unable or afraid to sail down the 900 miles or more of sea that intervened between Digges Island and the southern extremity of the Bay, where Forts Monsoni or Moose,

Rupert, and Albany had been established. But they were not left long undisturbed. In the following year an expedition was planned to dislodge them. Its conception and execution form one of the most romantic episodes of history. It reads like the wildest fiction.

In the month of March, 1686, a band of thirty-three Frenchmen in a half-savage, half-civilized attire started out from Montreal. They were accompanied by sixty-six plumed and painted Indians and were under the command of the old warrior, the Chevalier de Troyes. In the party were Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, then only twenty-five years of age, and his two brothers, Ste. Hélène and Maricourt. Whither were they going? Up the Ottawa to Hudson Bay, on snowshoes, over frozen rivers and through dense forests, a distance of 600 miles, till they reached Lakes Nemiscamingue and Abitibi. After that they would career for another 300 miles in frail canoes down swollen ice-packed rivers and over furious half-frozen cataracts till they reached the English forts which they proposed to capture. They had no provisions for the journey except what little they could pile on their shallow *trainaux*, but the guns on their shoulders or the pistols at their belts would bring down what game they met, or if they met none and their supplies gave out they would gnaw the bark of trees, gather the *tripes des roches*, or starve. At night they would build a fire in the woods, construct a shelter of branches, or dig a hole in the snow to sleep in. It was rude traveling, but such hardships were common for them. The white man was as hardy as the Indian; the piercing cold or perils from wild beasts and skulking savages, hunger and thirst, and the exhaustion of long journeys had no terrors for them. But the height of recklessness seemed to be reached in their lack of accouterments for serious war. They were going without cannon to assail a series of stockaded and bastioned forts. Their muskets, however, and hatchets and the few hand-grenades they carried and their own daring would do the work. And so they went on light-heartedly, as Frenchmen commonly do in going to battle, and especially so, as tramping along with them in the snow, carrying his heavy pack,

but, of course, bearing no arms, and as merry as any of the men, was a Black Robe, the Jesuit missionary, Father Sylvie, who was then close on fifty years of age. As the fighters might drop on the road or be shot by the foe, they needed the priest. However, he was only incidentally their chaplain. He had joined the expedition because he found it the quickest way to reach the Indians in the frozen North.

They arrived at Lake Abitibi in safety. Not one had fallen or grown faint-hearted on the way. That spot was chosen, for it was at the height of land, and from it a network of rivers poured down into Hudson Bay.

They rested a while, and then began to build their canoes and to wait for the ice-bound rivers to break. They had plenty of time; for though they had left Montreal in March, they could not hope to reach Hudson Bay till the end of June. Spring is slow-footed in the far-away regions of the North.

At last the cakes of ice in Lake Abitibi began to loosen, and the liberated streams leaped down to the Bay. The canoes were ready and the ninety-nine men sat in them with their paddles in hand, not to propel the frail barks—the torrents would do that for them—but to guide them away from threatening rocks or masses of ice that were racing down the stream with them or after them, or were blocked like masses of glistening granite against obstructions in the river. The Abitibi rushes almost straight, or at least with only one big bend, for the Moose, but there were cataracts everywhere, and fallen trees across the current, and ice-jams. Iberville's own canoe was swamped in a swirl of the waters, and two of his men went down with it, possibly with a quick absolution from the Black Robe. Iberville, at the risk of his own life, pulled two others ashore. There were shallows also on the way down, and at one place their canoes had to be dragged for eleven miles through icy water. The muscles of these men must have been made of bronze.

It was June 16 or 17 when Iberville, who went ahead as a scout, sighted the trading-post or factory in the distance. The goal had been reached and only two men had been lost. Now

all the eagerness for the fray was on them. Like experienced Indian fighters, they *cached* what little provisions they had and what clothing might interfere with their freedom in the fight. At the same time, as they knew that they might never emerge from the struggle alive, they knelt in the forest at the feet of Father Sylvie to prepare their souls to meet Almighty God, if so it were ordained.

It was the 18th of June, one of the longest days of the year, for in those high latitudes there is scarcely any darkness at all, but at an hour when it was supposed the garrison would be asleep two figures might have been seen emerging from the brush near the fort. They were Iberville and his brother. There was not a sound to be heard as they crept stealthily around the fortifications. They scarcely dared breathe, and each step had to be watched, for the breaking of a twig beneath their feet might awaken the watch-dogs of the fort. But reconnoitering in that fashion was familiar work for these two daring men. They measured the height of the walls and saw the slits through which the muskets would be thrust. They crawled around the stone bastions at each corner and noted with delight that all of the protruding cannon had been plugged, for no enemy was expected. They had to guess at the arrangements of the fort: where the powder magazine was kept, where the furs were stored, where the Factor's house was placed. They tried the main gate and found it barred. They then slipped away as quietly as they had come. No watching sentry had seen them, and the garrison was still buried in sleep.

At the same hour on the following night other shadowy forms began to emerge from the brush around the fort, until all the raiders were gathered together intent for battle, de Troyes being in front, near the water, to distract the attention of the garrison from the attack that was to be made on the land side by Iberville and his men. There a huge tree-trunk was lifted over the pickets. It was an improvised battering-ram, and in a few minutes it was crashing against the main entrance of the fort. Before the garrison was fully awakened the gates had yielded, but the unfortunate sentry who had been supposed to be on

guard was sabered, as he staggered forward, half asleep, to defend his post, and over his body the assailants rushed to attack the principal house of the fort. The door soon yielded to the battering-ram and the musket butts, but before it was wholly open the impetuous Iberville leaped inside. The door closed behind him and he was a prisoner in the enemy's stronghold. All was thick darkness around him, and he knew not what soldiers might be crouching near, so right and left his sword went swinging to keep off any possible aggressors. Then through the gloom came the glimmer of a lantern from the stairs above. A soldier was peering into the space below, but only for a moment; a bullet from Iberville's pistol toppled him over. Then the door yielded and the anxious Frenchmen crowded around their chief. He was safe.

The surrender of the fort was demanded. What could the dazed and feeble garrison do against this great force of wild men who had so suddenly appeared out of the woods? Quarter was asked and granted; and the soldiers who had been sleeping so tranquilly a few moments before found themselves prisoners of war. There were twelve cannon in the fort and three thousand pounds of powder. The French now had the means, if needed, of battering down the other forts.

Fort Rupert was the next objective point. Charlevoix says it was fifteen or twenty leagues to the east. Laut makes it nearer forty. At all events, it was a four days' journey. Iberville set out with his canoes, while his brother Ste. Hélène followed with fifty men in a ship that had been found undefended at Moose. The prisoners and the baggage appear to have been conveyed on rafts along the coast.

It was July 1 when Iberville sighted the fort, and to his delight he saw a ship in the offing. It was another unexpected prize. In the dead of night he took a dozen of his men in canoes and paddled out to the vessel. Up the stern they crawled like cats. The man at the lookout suddenly awakened, sprung for Iberville's throat, but a stroke from the Frenchman's sword laid the poor wretch dead on the deck. Startled by the tumult, the crew came tumbling in mad haste up the hatch. First one, then

another, and another; three were sabered as their heads protruded from the hold. A fourth one appeared and surrendered the ship. He was no less a personage than Bridgar himself, the Governor of the entire territory.

But the capture of the ship was not enough. Orders were given to escalate the fort, and in a trice Iberville and his followers hurried ashore and were soon on the roof of the principal building, hacking a hole in it with their axes and throwing down hand-grenades in the rooms below. Only one calamity occurred, and it was unintended and unforeseen. Into the darkened apartment that was being bombarded rushed an excited woman of the garrison, and before she could be warned a grenade exploded and her wild scream announced that she had been struck. Careless of consequences, Iberville and Father Sylvie, who is said to have been with him on the roof, leaped down to her rescue, and tenderly cared for her while the fort was being surrendered.

There was still another post to take, and it lay in a totally different direction. It was Fort Albany and was northwest of Moose, the first post that had been taken, and was three hundred miles away. But what did that matter for men who had already traveled nine hundred miles over the snows? Iberville hurried forward in his light canoes. The rest followed with the prisoners in the vessels that had been captured.

Charlevoix, in speaking of Hudson Bay (Shea's Translation, v. III, p. 227), says: "Nothing is more fearful than the country by which it is surrounded. On whatever side you cast your eyes, nothing can be seen but wild and uncultivated lands, precipitous rocks, rising to the sky, intersected by deep ravines and sterile valleys, where the sun does not penetrate, and which the snow and glaciers, that never melt, render unapproachable. The sea is open only from the beginning of July to the end of September, and even then there may be seen at times icebergs of immense size, which cause navigators the greatest embarrassment: for at the moment when it is least expected the tide or a current strong enough to sweep the ship along and render it ungovernable, suddenly covers it with so great a number of

these floating shoals that, as far as the eye can reach, nothing can be seen but ice."

In that part of the journey Iberville showed that he was as skillful as any Esquimo. When the canoes and the ship reached the open bay a fierce gale was sweeping down from the north, tossing the ice-floes around in the wildest confusion. It was dangerous enough for a ship that had faced the perils of the ocean to brave such a storm, but next to madness to venture out in canoes in the midst of the driving ice. So thought many of the Indians, accustomed as they were to such dangers. They refused to go on, and returned to the shore. Not so Iberville. He had still two canoes whose crews were faithful to him and every bit as daring as he. On they went. When the ice-fields came down on them and threatened to crumple up their boats, they leaped out on the floe, dragged the boats to the open water on the other side and were off again. At this perilous work they continued all night long, and when morning dawned and a thick fog had settled on the sea, their paddles were still at work. They could not see their way, but Iberville, discharging his musket from time to time, kept the boats together. This desperate fight with the elements was continued for four days, and at last, on August 1st, the canoes were beached below Fort Albany. The ship arrived later, bringing the cannon. Immediately the French set about placing them in position to bombard the fort, which as yet had given no sign of life, though the work of throwing up embankments was going on feverishly. Suddenly the forty guns of the fort thundered simultaneously, and balls tore up the earth around the trenches, but not a man was hit, and the work continued. Hour after hour went by, but not another shot was fired. It almost seemed as if the whole supply of ammunition had been spent in that one cannonade.

Meantime de Troyes had landed his troops and sent a message to the fort demanding its surrender. The summons was rejected, and for two days the firing was kept up on both sides. The situation was becoming desperate. The assailants' powder was giving out; but just then a flag of truce was run up on the fort and the raiders entered. They found 50,000 crowns' worth

of peltries, but alas! no food, either for themselves or the defenders. There was no help for it. It was *sauve qui peut*. The soldiers were set adrift to shift for themselves, and many of them doubtless perished from hunger or exposure. The main body of the raiders made for the St. Lawrence, leaving a small body under Maricourt to defend the fort.

In the following year (1687) Iberville came back to the scene of his former victories. We find him first at Fort Rupert, opposite which, near Charlton Island, lay a ship, which he determined to capture. He sent out four of his men to reconnoiter, and then followed a series of adventures as ghoulish as a small boy would gloat over in a novel. One of the men fell sick and had to return; the three others were captured by the English and put in irons in the hold. But one day there was need of help on deck and a prisoner was called up to give a hand in trimming the ship. He was only too glad of the chance to leave his fetid prison, but did not dream that an opportunity of freedom would so suddenly present itself. Four of the crew were up in the rigging, and an ax lay near by on the deck. The Frenchman seized it, and creeping up behind two sailors who had not gone aloft, he brained them, and then hurriedly released his companions, and they, at the point of the pistol, brought the four men in the rigging to the deck, and then steered the vessel across to Fort Rupert, where Iberville had been long anxiously waiting for their return. The captured ship was well provisioned and came in good time, for the small garrison of the fort was at the point of starvation. Iberville had already seized another ship before this bloody episode. But the Bay was not yet cleared.

The Hudson Bay people still maintained possession of Fort Nelson on the western shore, at the mouth of what is now called the Nelson River, but which the French in those days called Rivière de Bourbon. They were naturally chafing at the presence of the French, and determined to drive them at least from Fort Albany, which was at the end of James Bay. Two ships were, therefore, sent to dislodge them. But the plan miscarried. On the way down the vessels were caught in the ice and the two

crews of eighty men were sent ashore, quite unaware that Iberville was in ambush in the swamps nearby. It was an unlooked-for opportunity for him, and when the men were at a safe distance and the ice had fortunately opened, he boarded one of the empty vessels and, to the horror of the Englishmen, sailed away to Fort Albany and then to Quebec.

But this was not the end of the adventure. On reaching the Straits he was caught in the ice and, to his consternation, saw before him two vessels floating the English flag. Fortunately, they also were icebound, but were uncomfortably near him; only a gunshot away. But the resourceful man was equal to the occasion. He ran up the British ensign and invited the captains of the ships to cross the ice to visit him. What did he intend to do with them? Perhaps keep them prisoners and trust to luck for a fight. But a better fortune was in store for him. The two captains were already on their way to his ship when the ice parted. Iberville flung his canvas to the wind and away he flew out of danger, running up his own flag at the masthead as a taunting farewell to his enemies.

We do not know where he was in 1688, but in 1689 he was again flitting from place to place in the Bay. We find him first at Fort Albany. He had reached that place in the month of October previous, and his lieutenant, La Ferté, had the good luck to capture an official, whom Charlevoix calls the Governor of New Savannah, on whom papers were found from the Directors of the London Company, ordering him to proclaim in the Bay region that William and Mary were King and Queen of Great Britain, a pronouncement which, of course, provoked the French to greater fury.

While at Fort Albany Iberville saw coming toward him two British ships, well supplied with guns and ammunition. They proposed terms of peace, but their real purpose was suspected. He not only rejected their offer, but succeeded in capturing twenty of their men, including two surgeons and one of their higher officers. He then demanded the surrender of the vessels. A refusal was returned, and he forthwith proceeded to cannonade the ships, which finally surrendered. With the largest

of his prizes he sailed for Quebec, leaving Maricourt and Ste. Hélène in charge of the posts. On his way out he fell in with an English ship. He was anxious to attack it, but was not strong enough, and he resorted to his old stratagem of hoisting the English flag. The trick succeeded. He was taken for an Englishman, and it was agreed by signal that he would lead the way through the Straits, keeping a light in the stern at night. If the weather cleared the vessels were to join each other. But the sea grew rougher and rougher, and he finally succeeded in getting away from his troublesome trailer, and after many anxious days and nights arrived at Quebec on October 25.

Canada was at that moment so sore pressed by the Iroquois that it seemed to be facing complete extinction. Desperate measures had to be resorted to, and it was agreed by both the Home and Colonial Governments that the only way out of the danger was to capture New York and Albany, from which two places the Iroquois derived their chief support. Indeed, a plan was drawn up by Callières and submitted to Seignelay in France detailing the plan of operations. It is to be found entire in Vol. IX of the N. Y. Col. Doc., p. 419, and we may give here a short extract of it:

"The expedition against New York, which I have proposed, can be executed in the beginning of next Autumn, if my Lord the Marquis de Seignelay would please issue immediately the necessary orders to put us in a condition to succeed therein. The fleet should leave Rochelle in the month of June.

"It is much more advantageous and certain to make this conquest this year than to wait until next Spring, for reasons which I shall hereafter set forth.

"In regard to the feasibility and time of the expedition, a month still remains to make all the necessary preparation at Rochelle, and that time is more than sufficient if well employed.

"The ships leaving Rochelle towards the end of June, will arrive at Quebec, at the latest, in the end of August. No more than three weeks or a month will be necessary to assemble our soldiers and militia, arrange our bateaux and canoes and other necessary equipages. We shall thus leave, at the latest, between

the 20th September and 1st October. Only a month will be required for the expedition, and we may calculate on the King being master of the whole of New York, at farthest, by the end of October; which is the best season for action in that country, because it is a very fine month there; it is the season the Iroquois go hunting towards the great Lakes, more than one hundred and fifty leagues distant from their country.

"In regard to the certainty and utility of the expedition in the month of October, they are founded on two main reasons. One is, that the English, being surprised and unprepared, will not have time to adopt any measures, nor to fortify themselves, nor to expect any aid. The other is, that His Majesty having this year incurred all the expense necessary for the support of 1400 men in Canada, they will be very usefully employed in this conquest which puts an end, for the future, to two-thirds of that expense by disbanding 900 of the soldiers partly this winter and the remainder next spring, making them settle in the conquered country, the preservation of which will not require a garrison of more than four or five hundred men. These will secure, at the same time, the whole of Canada, where it will be no longer necessary to keep troops against the Iroquois who, by this conquest, will be without any ammunition, and whom we shall then reduce on such conditions as will be acceptable to His Majesty.

"If we wait until Spring, the English of New York, aware of the rupture with France, will be able to fortify themselves, during winter, and receive before the end of June of next year some military reinforcements.

"The Expense the King will have incurred this season for the maintenance of 1400 men becomes useless, inasmuch as it will not prevent parties of Iroquois coming to burn many of our isolated settlements, which will not be able to afford each other assistance soon enough, even were the number of soldiers there more than quadrupled; and His Majesty will be under the necessity of incurring the same expense again next year, which might be avoided in proceeding with the expedition this season."

After the matter had been duly discussed His Majesty determined to make the attempt. War was declared against England on June 25, 1689, and two ships were fitted out in the harbor of Rochefort and put under the command of *Sieur de la Caffinière*, who, in turn, was to be subject to the Count de Frontenac. The Count was first to proceed to Acadia and from there to embark on a merchant ship for Quebec, where he was to prepare the land forces for the expedition across Lake Champlain and Lake George, and then down the Hudson. Meantime *de la Caffinière* was to ravage the coast, seize whatever English vessels he could, and wait for word from Quebec to set sail for Manhattan.

As it was impossible to be sure that the land and naval forces would arrive simultaneously at New York, *Caffinière* was told to sail straight for that place on receipt of orders. In case he found he had anticipated Frontenac, he was to make no show of hostility, but to pretend that he was merely cruising. He was not to attack any of the outposts lest "that might alarm the capital!" Only when the troops had descended the Hudson were operations to begin. As the success of the plan was not for a moment doubted, the victors were instructed what to do with this new possession of the French Crown. The Catholics who might be found there were to be allowed to remain, if they so wished and if their fidelity could be relied on; French mechanics and workmen were to be established on the island; the officers and chief settlers were to be held as prisoners and a ransom was to be exacted for their release; the rest of the population were to be sent to New England and Pennsylvania. Finally, *Callières* was to be appointed Governor, subject to the Governor-General of New France. Thus every detail of the elaborate scheme had been carefully provided for, and was irrefragable on paper.

But, as Charlevoix says: "This project, so well conceived, with its execution confided to officers whose names were a guarantee of success, had one defect which entailed failure. It depended on the concurrence of two things that never can be counted on, namely, favorable winds and equal diligence in all

appointed to make preparations." The French fleet never entered Manhattan harbor, and neither Callières nor Frontenac ever descended the Hudson.

Indeed, when Frontenac arrived in Quebec from Acadia, the French could barely hold the St. Lawrence. It was the year of the terrible La Chine massacre, 1689; and on August 25, two months before the time fixed for capturing Manhattan, 200 people were killed at Montreal and 120 carried off into captivity by the Iroquois.

While all this was going on Iberville was in Hudson Bay, and his victories there were the only consolation of the colony at that time. Indeed, the Indians had begun to despise the French to such an extent that Frontenac found it necessary, in order to regain his prestige, to do something of a bold and daring character. With that in view, the attacks on Schenectady, Salmon Falls, which is the present Berwick, N. H., and Falmouth, now Portland, Me., were planned.

Only with the first of these expeditions have we at present any concern, for Iberville, who had meantime returned from Hudson Bay, was one of the fighters who marched against the unfortunate little town on the Mohawk, though he was by no means responsible for the horrible butchery of which the French were guilty on that occasion.

The force sent against Schenectady consisted, according to Charlevoix, of 110 men, but De Monseignat and the N. Y. Colonial Documents (VIX, p. 466) say two hundred and ten, among whom were eighty Iroquois and sixteen Algonquins. They started from Montreal under the command of Lieutenants d'Ailleboust, de Mantet, and Le Moyne de Ste. Hélène. Iberville, de Repentigny, and others went as volunteers. The ultimate objective point was New York, but at a council held after four or five days' march it was decided not to proceed any further than Albany, and then suddenly, without asking leave, the ninety-six Indians turned west in the direction of Schenectady. The French could do nothing but follow. When that change in the programme occurred, a nine days' tramp was still before them, and they had to plod knee-deep in icy water,

while bitterly cold weather was stiffening their limbs. It was then the early part of February.

With the French was the famous Kryn, known as "The Great Mohawk." He was highly esteemed for his oratorical powers, and when the party was about six miles from the town he made a glowing speech in Indian fashion, exhorting both the French and Indians to forget their hardships and avenge the evils done them in the past. When he had finished, Giguère, a Canadian scout, and nine Indians, acting on information obtained from some squaws whom they met, started out to reconnoiter. On their reporting what they had seen, it was proposed to defer the attack till the following morning, but the intense cold made them resolve to begin at once. They were then three miles away. Very little resistance could be expected, for Schenectady, now a city of 35,000 inhabitants, was then merely a rectangular enclosure with about forty houses. It had two gates, which the scouts saw were left open. To one of these Iberville was sent, but being unable to find it, he rejoined his companions at the main entrance.

It was eleven o'clock at night, and through the unguarded gate the entire party entered unperceived. Their moccasins and snowshoes made no noise; no one spoke, and the soldiers flitted like ghosts over the white ground till they reached the other extremity of the town. Then the wild Indian yell was raised and the sleepers sprang to seize their arms. In a sort of a fort a garrison had been installed, and there the only real fighting occurred. The defense was stubborn for a time, but the doors were at last battered down and all the inmates were remorselessly butchered. The fort was then set on fire. At a few places some resistance was attempted, and at one house a French officer, Montigni, was badly wounded by a halberd, but Ste. Hélène hurried up with his troop, and in revenge all the inmates were slaughtered.

For two hours there was nothing but pillage and bloodshed. Soldiers were put at the gates to guard against surprise, and then the rest of the night was given to riot. Orders had been issued to spare the minister, an excellent Hollander named

Tassemaker, who had served at other posts before ministering at unhappy Schenectady, but, unfortunately, he was killed before being recognized. John Sanders Glen, the Mayor of the place, who fled across the river, was pursued and taken, but on account of the good reputation he bore both with the French and Indians his life was spared.

One of the first acts of the conquerors was to stave in the barrels of rum to prevent the Indians from getting drunk, and then alas! on that cold winter night of February 9, the forty well-built and well-furnished houses of the settlement were set on fire. Sixty people were killed and twenty-seven taken prisoners. Elsewhere we have said that Kryn, the Great Mohawk, lost his life in that attack. There was, indeed, a French Indian slain at Schenectady, but it was not Kryn. His death, which was regarded as a disaster throughout Canada, occurred a few months later, namely, on June 4, at Salmon River, a stream which empties into Lake Champlain. He was killed while engaged in one of the raids that followed the tragedy of the Mohawk.

The French made all haste to leave behind them the smoking ruins of the little town, for word had already reached Fort Orange, which was only sixteen or seventeen miles away, and, of course, the crime would be avenged. Indeed, a band of one hundred and forty Mohawks and Mohegans started out immediately, and before the French could reach the St. Lawrence, where they arrived after a terrible journey of forty-five days of hardship and starvation, more than twenty scalps had been lifted by the pursuing savages. There was not much glory for Iberville to have been connected with that shameful deed, but he was not in command.

Immediately after this he betook himself or was sent to Hudson Bay. What he did there we do not know, but are told that his return with two ships in the following summer, carrying a precious cargo of 80,000 francs' worth of beaver skins and over 6000 livres of smaller furs, was the only gleam of sunshine that came to the colony in those terrible days when war with the Indians and the English was being waged all the way

from Acadia to Michilimackinac. But sorrowful tidings awaited him as he stepped ashore at Quebec. His brother Ste. Hélène, who had stood at his side in many a hard-fought battle, had died from the effect of a wound received in an encounter with the English who were besieging the city. The injury was a trifling one, but Ste. Hélène succumbed; and as he was a great favorite in the colony because of his winning disposition, a cry was raised that he had been hit by a poisoned bullet, but the surgeon let it be known that the patient had refused to submit to the regime prescribed and had brought the consequence on himself. It is noteworthy that he had been one of the commanders at Schenectady, so that the grim reaper cut him down not long after the massacre for which he was at least partly responsible. The fierceness with which he avenged the wound of his friend Montigny in that unfortunate town is not a pleasant thing to recall.

Iberville did not remain long in Quebec, but started for France to discuss the plan of attacking Fort Nelson, which was still held by the English in Hudson Bay. He was chosen to drive out the enemy and embarked on the royal ship *Envieux*. He was to pick up the *Poli* at Quebec, and with two other vessels, furnished by the Northern Company, was to set sail for the Bay, capture Fort Nelson, and after sending back the *Poli* to France, remain to protect the forts.

But the *Envieux* arrived at Quebec on October 18, 1692, and there could be then no question of attempting to break through the ice of the Straits. Hence, not to leave such a man and such ships idle, it was determined to attempt the reduction of Pemquid, a fort built on the coast of Maine between the Penobscot and Kennebec.

The offer was gladly accepted, but, to the consternation of every one, Iberville failed; he sailed up to the fort, but immediately withdrew. An English ship was anchored under the guns, and for some reason or other the hero of so many fierce encounters did not think it prudent to begin the fight. It was a great disappointment to the Indians of those parts, who hated the British and hoped that the arrival of the French ships meant de-

liverance, and the incident furnished plenty of material to the enemies of Iberville to assail his reputation. But it turned out afterward that French deserters had revealed the plan of attack to the commandant of the fort, who was thus fully prepared for fight. Iberville had intended a surprise, but he saw at a glance that he was expected, and he prudently held off. He was a brave but not a rash fighter.

Up to this the tempestuous career of Iberville had precluded any thoughts of domestic tranquillity. He was now thirty-two years of age, and we find in the records that he made 1693 memorable by taking a wife. This interesting event took place on October 8, 1693, at Quebec. The favored lady was Mlle. Marie Thérèse de la Combe Pocatière, the daughter of a gallant captain of the famous Carignan-Salières regiment. There were two children from this marriage—a boy, born at sea on the Banks of Newfoundland, on June 22, 1694, who was baptized on the same day, but the ceremonies were subsequently supplied at Quebec on the return of the ship; and a daughter, who was born later, and became Dame Grandive de Lavanie.

In that year came the news that Fort Albany had been captured by the English. The fort was not much of a prize except for the forty or fifty thousand peltries it contained. It had been guarded by only four men, one of whom had murdered the missionary, Father Dalmas, and was in irons. The English, not knowing its helplessness, had sent forty men to take it, but were driven back after losing two of their number. Apprised of the true condition of affairs, another attack was made. This time there were one hundred assailants. Seeing there was no hope, the three lonely men slipped away and were fortunate enough to reach Quebec and to give the news to the Governor. When the English entered the abandoned post they found only the murderer in chains, but the abundance of furs was a sufficient reward.

A new personage now appears on the scene: Le Moyne de Serigny, another of the brothers of Iberville. He arrived at Quebec with a royal commission to organize an expedition for the capture of Fort Nelson. The commission was, of course,

for his brother as well as himself, and Frontenac immediately assigned one hundred and twenty Canadians and some Caughnawaga Indians for the enterprise. Their vessels were the *Poli* and *Salamandre*. There is a quarrel as to whether the second was not the *Envieux*, but Father Maret, who was chaplain of the expedition, calls it the *Salamandre*.

They reached the fort on September 24, after a perilous voyage, for the Bay was full of ice. Forty men immediately disembarked and began to invest the fort, which was about a mile and a half inland. An attempt was made to bring the vessels higher up the harbor, but the ice delayed them a whole month and nearly wrecked the *Salamandre*, and only on the 28th of October did they anchor sufficiently near it, and then the entire crew went ashore.

Fort Nelson was a double-palisaded square, with six bastions; between two of them was a hollow curve in the wall, with a battery of eight-pounders commanding the river; while below, quite near the ground, a platform was built, with six heavy guns. There were, besides, thirty-six cannon and six pedreros, or stone throwers. On the side of the woods, which was only a clump of trees in a swamp, there was no defence. The garrison consisted of fifty-three men, but, fortunately for the French, the commandant, though an excellent trader, was a poor excuse for a soldier.

The siege had a sad opening, especially for the two commanders. Their younger brother, Le Moyne de Chateaugay, who was an ensign on the *Poli* and a mere lad of eighteen, was killed while preventing the besiegers from making a sortie. This occurred on November 4. During the four following days the besiegers fortified their position, and by the 13th the cannon and mortars were in place and Iberville summoned the garrison to surrender.

The inexperienced commandant was in a panic. He was frightened, not because he was in want of provisions—indeed, the fort was well supplied, for the English had expected the attack—but because he had no fuel and there was no prospect of getting it to keep off the cold of winter if the French re-

mained in their position. He, therefore, shamefully signed the articles of capitulation on the following day.

Unfortunately, there were very few furs in the fort, but later on a flotilla of one hundred and fifty Indian canoes arrived loaded with them. There was, however, a plentiful supply of provisions, and the Frenchmen settled down to make themselves comfortable till the ice broke up. They were happy for that reason, but did not foresee the calamity in store for them. The scurvy broke out among the men, and the lieutenant of the *Poli*, nine Canadians, and ten sailors died. The ice kept them imprisoned, and it was not until the 28th of July that it was possible to weigh anchor and sail away from the fatal spot, with only one hundred and fifteen men, and some of these unfit for service.

Iberville, however, delayed the departure. He was anxious to wait for some incoming English vessels in the hope of a battle, but they did not appear, and only in September did he consent to start for Quebec. He left behind him sixty-four Canadians and six Iroquois, with ammunition and stores for a year. But he failed to reach Quebec. He was beaten back by head winds on the coast of Labrador and turned his prow toward France, finally staggering into the harbor of La Rochelle with his scurvy-stricken crew on October 9. He had passed through a year of terrible suffering.

When he arrived in France the news was abroad that great preparations were being made in Old England and New England, especially in Boston, for a raid on Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, where the French defences were in a wretched condition. As an offset to this plan, Frontenac urged Louis XIV to send ten or twelve men-of-war to take Boston, a proceeding, he said, which was quite feasible. But the royal ears were deaf, and all that could be obtained was a little help in the effort to oust the English from Fort Pemquid and their posts in Newfoundland and Hudson Bay.

As a result of these half-hearted measures, Iberville was sent to Pemquid, and arrived at that place with two ships on June 26, 1696. There he was told that three English vessels were waiting for him at the mouth of the St. John's River, New

Brunswick. He accepted the challenge with alacrity, and on the 14th of July opened his guns on the enemy and shot away the masts of the *Nelson* which carried twenty-four guns. He would have captured the other vessels, but they escaped in the fog. The fifty Micmacs whom he had taken on board were of great service in the sea fight—a strange place for the men of the woods. Iberville had not lost a man.

On August 7 he anchored at Pentagoet, and the Baron de St. Castin, the French nobleman who had married an Indian squaw and was living with her tribe, came aboard with two hundred Indians. Iberville distributed presents among them from His Majesty in France, and then the Baron departed with his red relatives to prepare for the fight at Pemquid. On the 13th Iberville arrived in sight of the fort, and began operations on the following day, but St. Castin had preceded him and had two mortars and a cannon already in position for work.

The commandant was named Chubb, though Charlevoix and Shea both spell the name Chubd. When summoned to surrender he answered very haughtily that, "If all the sea were covered with French vessels and the land with Indians, he would not strike his flag," but he added the reservation—"till compelled to do so."

The reply was what the Indians wanted. They immediately opened fire on the fort and that night Iberville landed and worked so feverishly that by three in the afternoon he was flinging shells inside the fortifications. Prospects were gloomy enough already for the besieged, but when St. Castin warned them that if they waited till the place had to be stormed he would not be responsible for the savage warriors who followed him—their custom was indiscriminate slaughter of their foes. This information was more effective than the roar of the cannon and Captain Chubd hauled down his flag. The garrison consisted of ninety-two men, and they had at their disposal fifteen pieces of artillery. The fort was razed to the ground. It was not as strong as had been supposed.

On the 3d of September Iberville sailed for Newfoundland, just escaping a fleet of seven English vessels as he left the

harbor. In Newfoundland he found the English occupying a number of posts, nearly all on the eastern side of the island and carrying on an extensive and lucrative trade, chiefly in fish. The French, on the other hand, were cooped up in Placentia Bay. The harbor was superb, but the garrison numbered only eighteen men, and they were in a wretched condition, nor was the fort worth boasting of. The Governor, de Brouillan, was a brave and experienced officer, but absolutely without any power of winning the affection of his men. He was grasping, avaricious, and insanely jealous of any superiority in others, so that Iberville was not a welcome visitor. His intercourse with de Brouillan was a new experience in his career.

He was delayed in arriving at Placentia, and dropped his anchor there only on the 12th of September. To his great chagrin, he found that the Governor had set sail three days before to attack St. John. It was a formidable undertaking, for forty ships were reported to be there, some of them carrying as many as thirty-two guns. Wind and weather, however, prevented him from entering the harbor, perhaps fortunately, but he silenced some small forts elsewhere and captured a number of vessels as he sailed along the coast. Returning to Placentia on October 17, he met Iberville, who was preparing to attack the most northerly English posts—a project against which the Governor set his face.

Foreseeing the difficulties that would arise, Iberville made up his mind to set sail for France, but his followers protested that they would take orders from him alone, and if he departed they would return home. A series of quarrels and reconciliations with Brouillan followed, Iberville always yielding in the interests of peace, though he was keenly alive to the injustice and jealousy of which he was the victim. Finally a compromise was effected and the two commanders set off for St. John. They drove the English before them with little difficulty and entered the town in triumph. There was some resistance at the miserable fort that protected the town, but after a few houses around it were burned the defenders signified their willingness to surrender. They could do little else, for the fortifications were

worthless except toward the sea. Moreover, the garrison, which was short of food, was made up chiefly of fishermen, and the commander, while an expert in agriculture, knew nothing of war. Had the French gone down to Boston the conquest would not have been so easy.

It may be of interest to know that in the diary of Abbé Beaudouin, who was chaplain of the expedition, it is set down on page 61 that: "Demontigny has arrived at Bull Bay with the rest of the prisoners, and twenty *Irishmen* have joined us." Again: "An *Irishman* escaped by swimming from Carbonear, and reached Harbor Content with his feet frozen, after having passed three days in the woods without food or fire." Later on: "The inhabitants of Bregus came with eight *Irish Catholics*, whom the English treat like slaves. We left to go to Harbor Content, where, on arriving, we discovered a fortified house. An *Irishman*, who was in command, came to tell us that the people were ready to surrender provided their lives were spared. On our arrival we learned that in Carbonear three *Irishmen* and one Frenchman had joined our cause."

After the capture of St. John, Brouillan returned to Placentia, while Iberville, glad to get away, set out with his men on snow-shoes to drive the English from their posts in the north. Six or seven hundred prisoners were captured in this raid and sent down to Placentia, but as there were not soldiers enough to occupy and hold the posts from which he had expelled the enemy, the expedition was really futile in its results. The work was daring and brilliant, but nothing else. He could do nothing but wait for reinforcements from France, and when, on the 18th of May, 1697, his brother came with a squadron of four ships and anchored in Placentia Bay, it was not to complete the conquest of Newfoundland, but, as Charlevoix says, to send Iberville "to gather fresh laurels amid the ice of Hudson Bay."

Thither he and de Serigny turned the prows of their vessels on July 8, arriving on the 28th at the entrance of Hudson Straits. By the 3d of August they were in the Bay, but found themselves facing formidable icebergs, grappling with some to avoid being crushed, but without being able to prevent the beat-

ing of the vessels against the floes which were tossed hither and thither by the incoming and outgoing tides. On the 5th, one of their vessels, a brigantine, got between a floe and Serigny's ship and was soon sunk in the icy waters. The crew were saved, but the other men on board were lost.

It was only twenty-three days after this misfortune that Iberville, who was on the *Pelican*, a fifty-gun ship, could clear himself of the ice. But where were the others? He had not seen them for seventeen days. He imagined they were ahead, for he had heard the booming of cannon on the previous night, and so he kept on to Fort Nelson, which he sighted on the 4th of September. But they were not there.

At six in the morning three ships were seen about three leagues to leeward. He signalled them, but there was no answer. They were evidently the enemy and he was trapped. He was one against three, and he had scarcely a hundred men in fighting condition. But that did not keep him back. He spread every inch of canvas and bore down upon them. They received him gladly. The cannons roared as he approached, and he replied. It was half-past nine in the morning when the firing began and it continued incessantly till one in the afternoon. Happily, so far he had lost only one man, but seventeen were wounded. He determined now to fight at close quarters, to bring the contest to an end. He drove straight at the two that were near each other, but while he was doing so the third, the *Hampshire* by name, with its battery of twenty-six guns on each side and its crew of two hundred and thirty men, was bearing down on him. He forgot the other two, and turning to meet her, ran up under her lee, yard-arm under yard-arm, and poured in broadside after broadside, although the companion ships were raking him fore and aft, making his deck a tangle of rigging and splintered spars, all blood bespattered, where mangled bodies were rolling helplessly. The gunners of the two ships that were locked in their death grapple could see each others faces through the smoke as the deadly battle continued. Suddenly there was silence in the English ship; a wild scream followed, and then, in the cold whirlpool of the Bay, the *Hamp-*

shire went down with her two hundred and thirty valiant men. Not one was saved.

Quick as he could turn his battered hulk, Iberville swung around at the second of his assailants, the *Hudson Bay*, but she struck her flag and surrendered, while the third escaped. He would have followed, but for the moment could do nothing; his rigging was cut, his shrouds in shreds, his pumps broken, and the water was pouring in through the seven holes that were torn by the enemy's shot close to the water line. But while sending a boat to secure the *Hudson Bay*, he made haste to repair the damage to his own craft, and when he fancied she was safe enough for the risk the daring man actually started in pursuit of his fleeing foe, and was gaining on her when the wind shifted and she disappeared in a fog. The Englishmen must have thought they had to do with a devil.

Iberville heard a curious story when he returned from the chase of the enemy. The English ships which he had just fought had been delayed in the ice for twenty-five days, and when they were freed they discovered a French brigantine still captive. It was the vessel that Iberville had fitted out at Placentia and which contained the stores of the expedition. The English hammered at her for six hours, riddling her from stem to stern without compelling her to strike her colors. In the midst of the engagement two French ships appeared, but instead of facing them the three English vessels fled, only to fall into the hands of Iberville, with the result that has already been told.

When he had patched up his battered *Pelican* and his prize *The Hudson Bay*, he made for Fort Nelson, arriving there on September 6. The men whom he had left there and who anxiously awaited his return came aboard and told him there were only thirty-five men in the fort. It would be child's play to take such a place when the rest of the fleet arrived, but he had a terrible fight with another enemy before they appeared.

The sea began to run high, a presage of a terrible storm which struck him in the middle of the night. His cables parted, and, skillful seaman as he was, he found there was no help for

it but to run his ships ashore. They were already leaking at every seam, and with the hard ice-floes tossed by the wind cutting gashes in his hulls, he managed, when the storm abated, to land some of his men, but twenty-three of them never reached the shore. The rest found themselves on the desolate rocks without means of lighting a fire to warm their frozen limbs and without a scrap of food to eat. Their provisions were being destroyed in the water-logged ships, which were going to pieces before their eyes. They knew there was plenty of food in the fort before them and they determined to storm it, no matter what the consequences. They might as well die one way as the other. Fortunately, while they were making ready, they sighted their ships in the offing, badly battered indeed, but supplied with cannon and food.

Without delay the mortars were put in position and the fort was summoned to surrender. The arrival of the ships had settled the matter. Without striking a blow, Fort Nelson hauled down its flag and fifty-two men walked out of the fort. How had the number so suddenly increased? Seventeen captive Englishmen had escaped from Iberville's vessels and had been welcomed at the fort. They were again made prisoners.

Leaving his brother behind him to guard the post, Iberville sailed away on September 24, and on the 8th of November, after forty days of battle with the ice, he arrived at Belle Isle with scarcely a man of either ship who was not suffering from scurvy.

This ended Iberville's battles in Hudson Bay. He was weary of the work, he told Louis XIV. He had captured every fort, time and time again, only to see the careless Frenchmen almost hand them over to the enemy. He wanted something that would be not merely a useless expenditure of blood, and he proposed that France should establish a fort at the mouth of the Mississippi, so as to hold that part of New France against English and Spanish encroachments. His request was granted, and he sailed from Brest, on October 24, 1698. He had with him the *Badine* and the *Marin*, each carrying 30 guns. Two transports accompanied them and after a voyage of six weeks,

Day of California

TO VIND
AMERICA



IBERVILLE DEPARTING TO DISCOVER THE MISSISSIPPI IN 1698.
EX-VOTO AT ST. ANNE DE BEAUPRÉ

they reached St. Domingo. There he was joined by Chateaumorant with a frigate of 50 guns, and together they set out for Florida. Coasting along the upper shore, they came across some Spanish ships in the harbor of Pensacola, but owing to the susceptibilities of the Spaniards, remained out at sea and continued westward until February 6th. There Chateaumorant left the explorers, as apparently there was nothing to be feared from English marauders who were reported to be prowling about on those waters.

As they were now in all probability approaching the mouth of the Mississippi, long boats were sent out with orders to keep near shore and report each variation of the coast line. To avoid every possibility of carelessness, Iberville and his brother, later on, directed the observations personally. On one occasion they were compelled by stress of weather to take refuge on a small island, where they were kept three days. In the hope of finding some trace of the mighty river cutting its channel through the forests, they went over to the mainland, and Iberville climbed a lofty tree for a wider view. He saw no river, but discovered near him the broad expanse of Mobile Bay. Leaving Massacre Island, as he called it, because of the number of skeletons found there, he again resumed his search. There was a wild storm on the Gulf at the time, but the long line of reefs and islands protected the boats, until after rounding a headland they found themselves in the midst of the tempest and made for the land. The island that first sheltered them they called Chandeleur Island, for they had just celebrated Candlemas Day. The one to the west was called Cat Island, because it was swarming with opossums. In the evening they saw a camp-fire in the distance. Evidently there were Indians in the neighborhood. The two Le Moynes, with some men, started out to find them, but the mainland was twenty miles away. Reaching the shore, Bienville was left to mind the boats, while Iberville pursued the Indians. He caught an old cripple, loaded him with gifts, and sent him to his people. The old man returned with all of them, and they were led to the shore. Meantime Bienville had been similarly fortunate with a venerable squaw. The whole

band was kindly treated and then brought out to the ships, Bienville staying behind as a hostage. They said they lived on a river called the Malabanca, which Iberville fancied was the Mississippi. They promised to guide him thither and would return in four days, but they failed to keep their word.

He then took thirty-three men from the ships' crews and a supply of food for twenty days. He put them in two feluccas, in each of which a cannon was mounted. There were also two canoes. Then he resumed his search. The weather was stormy. Thunder was rolling above them and a northeast wind brought frost. They were delayed a whole day on an island, but started out again in a north wind, on a wild sea, and amid a maze of rocks. The boats were tossed about, and night was coming on. Finally they were abreast of a rocky promontory. Should they put to sea and avoid the headland, or run the risk of being smashed on the rocks? Iberville chose the latter, and, to the horror of every one, headed straight for the shore. The cape seemed to open for him, and he found himself in a tranquil harbor, where, working swiftly through the rocks, was a stream of whitish water. They tasted it. It was fresh. They had found the Mississippi. The date was March 2, 1699. Next morning Mass was said and a *Te Deum* was sung.

He then started up the river, passing on his way a place he called "Baton Rouge," because of a red stick which marked the boundary line between two tribes. Baton Rouge is now a city. He was anxious to verify some of Hennepin's statements, but found them all false. He returned disgusted, and after much hesitation chose Biloxi on the Gulf as the place for the colony.

Leaving a garrison there of seventy men and boys, he sailed for France, on May 3, 1699, returning again in the following January. Again he started up the river, and built another fort at La Boulaye, or Poverty Point, thirty-eight miles below the present New Orleans. Next month Tonti, the faithful companion of La Salle, came down from the Illinois, and together they started up the stream to discover, if possible, the fork which so frequently figured in the accounts of La Salle's expeditions. Fever by this time had invaded his system, and he again set sail

for France. On his way he entered the harbor of New York. Bellomont was Governor at the time, and regarded the Frenchman with suspicion, but Iberville gave a satisfactory account of himself, remaining for some weeks and carefully studying and sounding the channels. He contrived also to despatch a Jesuit missionary with a letter to Canada. The missionary was probably Vaillant de Gueslis, who was temporarily there as a prisoner. Iberville had not yet abandoned his idea of capturing Manhattan.

He had scarcely arrived in France when he embarked again for America, reaching Pensacola on November 24, 1701. Conditions had meantime become so intolerable at Biloxi that he gave orders for the transfer of the garrison to Mobile, and then started for France. He never saw the colony again. His strength was fast giving way, and he was worried also by the opposition that had been aroused against his scheme both in Quebec and St. Domingo. Nevertheless, when war broke out between France and England, we find him in the midst of the fray in the West Indies. He took the islands of Nevis and Ste. Croix, and carried off an immense booty, including 7000 Negroes, subsequently seizing thirty ships and 1750 men. In recognition of his services he was appointed to lead an expedition of sixteen ships and 2000 men, which was to ravage all the English colonies on the coast, including New York and Boston. But he never led it. He arrived on his brigantine at Havana on October 19, 1706, with the title of Governor of Louisiana, but died almost immediately of what was probably yellow fever. His wife was at his side, but she soon forgot her hero and married again in France.

The Le Moyne family had poured out its blood lavishly for their country. Sainte Helène, Chateaugay, and the elder Bienville had already died. Two years after Iberville went to his reward, the elder Bienville, with forty other Canadians, was killed at Repentigny. Serigny and the younger Bienville survived, and the oldest of the sons, de Longueuil, who had succeeded to his father's title, was made Governor of Montreal in 1710. The son of the Chateaugay, killed in the attack on

Fort Nelson, became Lieutenant-Governor of Louisiana in 1722, and later Governor of Guiana. He died in 1747, after having successfully defended Louisburg, where he was in command. It is a glorious record for one family, and it is surprising that in their native city of Montreal there is no monument to keep before the people the memory of at least the most illustrious of all that splendid group, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville.



SILVER CROSS GIVEN BY D'IRERVILLE IN 1706.

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

BY RIGHT REV. MGR. HENRY A. BRANN, D.D.

A LITTLE parish school, begun by the Rev. Patrick Reilly in his own house in Wilmington in 1840, was the germ of St. Mary's College, Wilmington. This college from 1850 had an average attendance of one hundred students, which increased somewhat until the Civil War broke out, when the number gradually decreased, until a few years after the war, in 1868, there were only forty, and the college then ceased to exist.¹ Its first graduates in 1850 were William McCauley of Wilmington, Edward McCabe, a nephew of the president of the college; Edward Ridgely of Dover, Del., and John Fulmer. In 1859 the college had only ninety-three students, of whom forty-one were from Delaware, sixteen from Pennsylvania, twelve from New Jersey, six from Georgia, four from South Carolina, four from Cuba, three from Costa Rica, three from New York, two from Virginia, one from Maryland, and one from Mississippi. The charge for board and tuition was \$150 per annum; and the scholastic year was from September 1 to the end of June. Although the rates for board were low, the food was good, as provisions were cheaper and probably of better quality than they are now.

The college was near the famous Brandywine River, where skating in winter and swimming in summer were excellent; the walks were pleasant and interesting, especially one to Chadd's Ford, the place near which the Battle of the Brandywine was fought.

The two ablest and most prominent professors who were ever in the institution were the founder, Father Reilly, and Edward Roth, who after the closing of the college established in Philadelphia a famous school called the Broad Street Academy. I was one of the twelve students from New Jersey in

¹"The History of Education in Delaware," by Lyman P. Powell, A.B. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1893.

St. Mary's in the two years from 1852 to 1854, and studied under Mr. Roth, who taught German, English, Mathematics, History, and Geography; and under Father Reilly, who taught Latin and Bible History. I never knew a better teacher than Mr. Roth. No student could leave his class, unless he was a dunce, without being well-grounded in what he taught. The classes were not graded, so that often in the same history or geography class with those who knew no Latin or Greek there were special students of the classic languages. Mr. Roth's system of teaching was thorough. Thus in History (Fredet's), in a class of thirty, it was absolutely necessary for the boy who wished to remain at the head of the class to know even the words of his task by heart. If he missed only a word, he had to go down to the foot of the class and try to work his way back again to the place he had lost. Sometimes a boy would hold his place at the head for a month, but next to him were four or five others tenaciously holding their places and watching for him to miss a word. I have seen the first four in a class of thirty hold their places for months without a tumble to the bottom. One of these four was a boy named Michael A. Corrigan, from Newark, N. J., who afterward became Archbishop of New York. Mr. Roth taught Geography in a unique manner: We all grabbed Mitchel's Geography, and by his orders looked at the map of a given country. Armed with a clean sheet of writing paper and a pencil, we followed with our eyes the boundaries as Mr. Roth directed, and copied down the names of the rivers, of the mountain ranges, lakes, bays, provinces, and chief towns of the country; and the next day we had to repeat by heart the whole list and the location of each part of the country. As our eyes had rested so long on the different parts while studying the map, the picture of it was stamped on the brain and the memory evoked the details when necessary. Our memories were thus well trained. He was an Irishman, born in Kilkenny, on February 6, 1826, who came to America in September, 1847, without having up to that time set foot in Germany, yet he was an admirable instructor in the German language. He analyzed the words and



PROFESSOR EDWARD ROTH.

showed their derivation or affinity; he taught the students specially to remember classic phrases from the German poets, and to translate instantaneously from English into the foreign language. Thus armed with a good German Reader and an Ollendorff Method, he made a class of seven young Irish-Americans fairly good German scholars in the course of a few years. He analyzed the words and the construction of sentences, and even taught the correct accent and pronunciation. He had the knack of stimulating the ambition of his students so that there was hardly a lazy one among them. Yes! I remember one who never knew his History lesson, but Mr. Roth punished him so often by keeping him in at recreation time with the obligation of learning fifty lines of history by heart that he finally won the prize at the end of the year. He also taught elocution and the higher mathematics. Many good orators were among his pupils. For fifteen years he was a professor in the college, and for ten of them he was vice-president. In 1861 he made a visit to Europe, spending some time in Paris studying military tactics. He called on me at St. Sulpice, where I was then a student, and having obtained permission, I accompanied him sometimes around the fortifications at Vaugirard, where he learned the names of their different parts and uses. In 1862 he resigned from St. Mary's, and went to Philadelphia, where he founded the Academy, a famous school to which he gave a certain military character. There are many still living who went to that school. All his old pupils speak of him with admiration for his talents and virtues. He was a true Catholic gentleman, faithful to all his moral and religious obligations to the end of his life. He was never married, and died in his eighty-sixth year. He was also an author, well known by his articles and stories in magazines and newspapers. He wrote a popular biography of Napoleon III, translated many French novels, including "Chateau Morvelle," "Rouge et Noir," Legoune's "Art of Reading," and some of Jules Verne's "Astronomical Stories." An original work of his was "Christus Judex." The stone head in the Profile Mountain in the White Mountains of New Hampshire

inspired this story. He took the famous head as a symbol of the head of Christ. I found a copy of this book in a store in the White Mountains some years ago, and sent it to the late Archbishop Corrigan, who, with myself, had heard Mr. Roth read it in class when we were boys in old St. Mary's. Mr. Roth was as famous and admired in Philadelphia as he was in Wilmington.

The reverence and piety which he showed in reading morning and evening prayers for the boys when he was vice-president of the college, they never forgot. He died poor. His death notice published in the Philadelphia papers reads as follows: "ROTH, on August 1, 1911, Prof. Edward Roth, A.M., aged 85 years. Relatives and friends, also members of the Catholic Club, Hibernia Society, and Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, are invited to attend the funeral on Friday, at 9.30 A.M., from his late residence, 1135 Pine Street. Solemn Mass of Requiem at St. John's Church at 10 A.M. Interment at Cathedral Cemetery."

Only the president of the college, Father Reilly, who died vicar-general of the diocese of Wilmington, equalled him. He wrote a good sketch of this saintly priest's life and published it in the Records of the Philadelphia American Catholic Historical Society in 1893, twenty-five years after St. Mary's had ceased to exist.

From Mr. Roth's biography of Father Reilly, I take some of the following facts: He was born October 11, 1807, at Curdala, County Cavan, Ireland. His father was a manufacturer of woolen goods, but when the business was injured by Napoleon's embargo against everything from the British Isles, the whole Reilly family emigrated to the United States and settled in Philadelphia. There for some time they resumed business, and young Reilly worked in his father's mill. But he was always a lover of books and piously inclined. A pious book with a chapter on Hell decided his vocation; and a young seminarian, studying in the seminary at Philadelphia, taught him the rudiments of Latin. This seminarian, Mr. Kelly, afterward Father John Kelly of Jersey City, a brother of Eugene

Kelly, the New York banker, lived for a time with the Reilly family. The two young men became fast friends forever after. They were alike in zeal, piety, and love of learning. Both, after a time, went to Mount Saint Mary's Seminary at Emmitsburg, at that time under the Sulpician Bruté, one of the best ecclesiastical colleges in the United States. At Mt. St. Mary's the ecclesiastical students, if competent, helped to teach the lay pupils. Young Reilly taught mathematics, and, according to Rev. Mr. Corry, was an excellent teacher of that branch of science. Among his classmates were Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop Hughes, Father Sorin, and other distinguished clergymen.

In 1831, the seminary in Philadelphia having grown larger, Mr. Reilly left the Mount and made a course of three years Theology under Bishop Kenrick, who ordained him priest on August 24, 1834. Previous to his ordination he had made a retreat at Mt. St. Mary's, and attracted the special attention of Father Carroll, then Pastor of Wilmington, Del., who afterward became Bishop of Covington, Kentucky. This holy bishop asked Bishop Kenrick to appoint Father Reilly to the vacant parish at Wilmington. So after serving on the mission for a short time in New Jersey at Trenton and Pleasant Mills, he was sent to Wilmington, where he remained as pastor until his death, fifty-one years afterward. He was thus pastor of a parish and president of the college at the same time.

Wilmington, now a flourishing manufacturing city and an episcopal see, was then a small place, with few Catholics. His salary as pastor in the beginning of his administration was only \$300 a year; and the Sunday collection seldom exceeded sixty-two cents. Coffey Run, New Castle, and other outlying parts of his parish were many miles away from his residence. Sometimes he walked nineteen miles a day on sick-calls, or to say Mass, or to hear Confessions. But the warm-hearted Irish laborers on the Havre de Grace division of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad became so fond of him and appreciated so fully his zeal for their spiritual interests

that they soon presented him with a horse and wagon, and made his missionary life comparatively comfortable.

The school, founded in 1840 for boys in Wilmington in his own house, he had to enlarge in 1842, when he had thirty-six pupils. He loved to teach. He loved boys, and the boys admired and loved him. His disposition was amiable, yet he was a strict disciplinarian. In 1847 no school in the United States was better known to the Catholics of the country than Father Reilly's of Wilmington, Delaware. At this time an incident occurred which nearly closed his career in that city. While he and Father Kelly had been together at Mount St. Mary's, they made a promise to each other to volunteer for the African mission. The condition of the poor colored people of the South had so deeply touched their Christian hearts that their Christian faith prompted them to go to the very home of the negro in Africa and evangelize the neglected savages there. Father Kelly, as I have told in a sketch of his life in a previous number of the *RECORDS AND STUDIES*, succeeded in carrying out his purpose under the leadership of Bishop Barron. But Father Reilly was forbidden by his bishop to leave Wilmington, so Father Kelly had to go to the African missions without his beloved friend. Then Bishop Kenrick, recognizing Father Reilly's talents as an educator, urged him to change his school into a college, which was done in 1847, in spite of much opposition at first from the bigoted Delaware Legislature, which refused a charter until the eloquent influence of Senator Spearman (a Protestant, whose daughter had been educated by the Sisters at Emmitsburg) succeeded in converting the bigots. In 1850 St. Mary's College was flourishing. Mr. Roth in his historical sketch of it says: "Within ten years its training had enabled at least thirty young men to enter seminaries with distinction, among them Archbishop Corrigan, Dr. Henry Brann, and eminent clergymen of New York, Baltimore, and Boston." This compliment is prompted by the love of the old professor for some who were his favorite students in 1852-1855. However, as a matter of fact, neither Archbishop Corrigan nor myself entered the seminary immediately from St. Mary's.

After two years there I went to St. Francis Xavier's, New York, and the future archbishop went to Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg; and those colleges were respectively our Alma Mater. But we both loved old St. Mary's, and I love its memories still. I entered in 1852 from Jersey City, at Father Kelly's suggestion to my eldest brother, James, who was the principal of his school for many years. Father Kelly in Jersey City and Father Moran, afterward first vicar-general of Newark, N. J., were personal friends of Father Reilly; hence the New Jersey contingent in his college was always large. Every boy whom those two saintly priests could influence was sent to Wilmington. In the college there were several young men who intended to be priests, and had separate apartments in the college; the rest were chiefly boys from thirteen years of age and upward who were trying to acquire a purely secular education. When I went there, in 1852, those who could be called ecclesiastical students were Patrick Corrigan, Jersey City, who some years ago died pastor of Hoboken; James Daly, from Jersey City, and John McEvoy, also from Jersey City. Father McEvoy was for a long time chancellor of the diocese of Buffalo under Bishop Timon; Father Daly died out west; Edward McCosker, from New York, died pastor of Newton, N. J.; Edward Hickey, for a long time pastor of Orange, N. J., died pastor of Parkersburg, West Virginia; and James Leddy, also from Newark, died in the diocese of Buffalo. As prefects on our walks on holidays, they were very good and kind to the younger boys of the college. The teachers were kind, the discipline not too strict. Many of our boys were from the South; and some from South America were hard to manage. I remember Giraud, from New Orleans; Quigley, from South Carolina; Lavender, from Maryland. Whatever became of Ben Lavender, the witty moving-spirit of all our college entertainments? Or of David Calhoun, the quaint Georgian? There were also Larrinaga, from Cuba; Louis Dimas Pou, from Matanzas, Cuba, who was the best penman in the college—celebrated for its splendid penmanship, thanks to Mr. Roth's training. James McCabe, a nephew of the president, wrote like

copper-plate. About a third of the students came from the South.

But the burden of taking charge of two parish churches, St. Peter's and St. Mary's, imposed on Father Reilly by the saintly Bishop Neumann, prevented him, as he became old, from concentrating all his attention on the college. Besides, the city had grown around and near it so that the privacy of the college was gradually destroyed; it was crowded out by the growth of the city. Then Bishop Becker made Father Reilly vicar-general of the diocese, and the duties of that office took up his time. He was also made a monsignor, but he did not live to receive the honor. He died July 30, 1885, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and at his funeral Bishop Becker paid him this tribute: "Father Reilly, a priest for more than fifty years, has ever been a devoted pastor, a worthy citizen, and an honest man."

Father Reilly excelled as a Latin teacher. He had the rare faculty of being able to make everything in Latin syntax clear and plain even to the dullest students. He went to the root of every Latin word, showed his students the English derivatives from it, pointed out the logical structure of the sentences, and never let his scholars take a step ahead until they had thoroughly mastered what went before. No one ever graduated from his class who did not know how to parse perfectly Latin sentences. Michael Corrigan, although the youngest boy in the class, had no superior in it. Together we read Livy and a part of Virgil's Eclogues; while we studied English Grammar, Rhetoric, and History with Mr. Roth, Mr. Edward McCabe taught French; and a Mr. Stigler taught vocal music. Mr. Michael Reilly, brother of the president, taught drawing, and a Mr. O'Grady taught Greek in my time.

Father Reilly was not only a good educator, but he was also a very holy priest. His mission work in Wilmington and for miles around will never be forgotten. He preached well. He had the kind of eloquence that fastened attention, convinced the intellect, and moved the heart. His little homilies on Sundays to the boys are still remembered by those who survive. As he stood in the college chapel, a tall, slender man, with almost

red hair, a square forehead, and blue eyes, covered by spectacles, he usually ended his sermons with the words: "Think in time! Think in time of your immortal soul and of Eternity!" These words, uttered in a clear, tenor voice full of sympathy, left an indelible impression on our minds. I have always considered him and his friend, the Rev. John Kelly of Jersey City, the most edifying secular priests I ever met in my youth. The people also thought so, for to this day those priests are still affectionately remembered and venerated in the cities where they lived and worked. "*In memoria aeterna erit justus.*"

NOTE: I am indebted to my old and dear friend, the Right Rev. John A. Lyons, V.G., the worthy successor of Father Reilly in St. Peter's Cathedral, Wilmington, for the sources from which I obtained many of the facts in this sketch.

PIERRE D'AILLY AND THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

BY CANON LOUIS SALEMBIER

OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF LILLE

—*Unus erat mundus; duo sint, ait istè. Fuere. Gagliulti.*

I

PIERRE D'AILLY, THEOLOGIAN, REFORMER, AND SCHOLAR

PIERRE D'AILLY, born at Compiègne in 1350, was a student, then a rector, of the College of Navarre, and Chancellor of the University of Paris. Having been appointed Bishop of Cambrai, he received his Bulls in May, 1397, and fulfilled the duties of his office up to the time of his elevation to the cardinalate, June 6, 1411. Constantly concerned with the general life of the Church, he had set his heart upon bringing the Great Schism to an end, and was the first in France to propose to end it by a General Council. It was he who in 1403 negotiated, and then read at Notre Dame, the famous Concordat, which was to restore the obedience of the French nation to Benedict XIII.¹ He was the Consalvi of the fifteenth century, and this act was one of the great triumphs of his ecclesiastical policy. To him fell the honor of presiding at the third session of the Council of Constance. As was very aptly remarked by the present rector of the University of Berlin, Mr. Max Lenz, "The development of the Schism and especially the events of the Council of Constance cannot be understood apart from the personal action of d'Ailly. The history of these forty years might be written under the title of 'Pierre d'Ailly and His Time.'"²

Of a distinguished and inventive turn of mind, he made

¹See the text in the *Œuvres françaises de Pierre d'Ailly*, published in the *Revue de Lille* in 1907, p. 49, at the same time as the unpublished poems of Cardinal d'Ailly.

²*Revue Historique*, 1879, p. 464.

remarkable discoveries in nearly every line of science to which he applied himself. He had put together the plan of a calendar, which he presented at the Council of Rome (1411), and of Constance (1416), and which long afterward (1582) was completed and adopted by Pope Gregory XIII. He induced Benedict XIII to establish the feast of the Blessed Trinity, and with his pupil, Gerson, contributed to the extension of the devotion to St. Joseph. In his mystical works he followed the great traditions of St. Bernard and Richard of St. Victor. He showed himself less trustworthy and more adventurous in his nominalist theories in philosophy and theology. He unquestionably desired and suggested many reforms, more or less wise in ecclesiastical discipline, but he deserves to be called one of the fathers of theological Gallicanism. He also made a few adventurous excursions in the realm of the Holy Scriptures. He was better inspired when, following the ideas of Roger Bacon, he insisted that the necessary corrections be made in the book of Divine Revelations, and two centuries later his suggestions received a happy and useful realization at the hands of the sovereign pontiff.

The apostolic zeal of the Bishop of Cambrai was no less remarkable than his erudition. He was termed by his contemporaries, "The Hammer of Heretics," and armed expeditions against the infidels hardly had a more eloquent advocate than Cardinal d'Ailly.¹ He heard the greatest men of his time repeat his bitter but courageous lamentations. His friend Philip of Maizières joined his voice to that of one of the most illustrious pupils of the Bishop of Cambrai, Nicholas of Clémangis. The city of Avignon and Italy had already heard the complaints and exhortations of the poet Petrarch before the historian Froissart attempted to arouse for the heroic cause "the courteous and chivalrous" nobility of Flanders and Hainault. With the same object in view, Joan of Arc gave excellent advice to Philip the Good, who paid little attention to it. In this

¹A pathetic appeal for the Crusade is found in his second sermon at the Synod of Cambrai. MS. of the library of Cambrai, no. 490. Cf. *Tractatus et sermones*, Strassburg, 1490; Brussels, without typographic indication, about the same date.

particular we notice that d'Ailly was one of the precursors of Christopher Columbus, who was himself an ardent advocate of the Crusade.

As we see, all the ideas, wise or doubtful, of these troubled times seemed to have met in the encyclopedic and vigorous mind of the Bishop of Cambrai.

Not only was d'Ailly the faithful mirror of the opinions and even the errors of his era, but at times he had also prophetic views on future ages which astonish us and which we shall repeat without comment. Like Janus in the fable, he is looking both toward the past and the future. He sums up the one and prophesies the other. On the one hand, he is a clear-sighted compiler; on the other, almost a seer.

For instance, at the beginning of the fifteenth century he predicted and stated the exact date of the French Revolution. Relying upon data more astrological than astronomic, he declares the world will witness an extraordinary event every time a conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter takes place, *i.e.* every nine hundred and sixty years. He attempts to prove this by means of all the great conjunctions that already belong to past history; then he adds: "The eighth conjunction will take place, God willing, in the year of Christ 1692, or thereabout; then after ten Saturnal revolutions will come the year 1789. If the world will last to that time, which God only knows, there will then occur many and important changes, principally in laws and religion."¹ Does not this clear prediction excel in authenticity,

¹The Cardinal of Cambrai wrote these lines in the sixtieth chapter of a work entitled: *Concordia astronomiae cum historica narratione*. This work was printed by John of Westphalia at Louvain in the same volume as the *Imago Mundi*. The library of Douai has a copy of it in series A, 135, and the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, nos. 345 and 346. The Cambrai library also contains a manuscript copy numbered 927 and 954; likewise the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, no. 3123; Valenciennes, no. 331, and the *Bibliothèque Bouyogne* at Brussels, no. 3593. It is also found at Montpellier, Basel, Leyden, Vienna, Munich, in the Vatican library, in the British Museum, nos. 29,969 and 29,984. This work (*Concordia*) was refuted by Pico de la Mirandola, *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem*, Book v, 9.

Groesbe mentions an edition without place or date entitled: *Petri de Aliaco tractatus de Imagine Mundi et varia ejusdem auctoris ac Joan. Gersonis opuscula*, in fol., 177 pp., forty-one lines with illustrations. Cf. *Haine, Repertorium bibliogr.*, vol. i, col. 837.

accuracy, and especially in antiquity, those attributed to Fénelon, Father Beauregard, and several others?

This prophecy was made in 1414, three hundred and sixty years before its realization; it was printed for the first time at Louvain about 1480, then at Augsburg in 1490, then at Venice in 1494,¹ that is three hundred years before 1789, and the indisputable proofs of this fact are within the reach of all scholars. The fact is as extraordinary as if at the present time we foretold something that would take place in the year of grace 2285.

Four years later, after the toils and struggles of the Council of Constance, d'Ailly in his book entitled *De persecutionibus Ecclesiae* again discusses the astronomical questions which had always had a strong interest for him. This pamphlet, after being lost for almost four centuries, was found at last at Marseilles, and was published in book form by Mr. Noël Valois,² member of the Institute. The Cardinal takes up a second time the famous text of which we have just spoken; he once more questions the stars about his prophecies and he improves upon the first prediction. He asserts, timidly, it is true, that the "anti-Christ will come about the time of the French Revolution with his law and with his damnable sect." And he adds this curious detail: "Before the year 1789 there will be another great religious upheaval. In one century, from the time at which I am writing, there will be many changes in Christianity, and the Church will be convulsed by many troubles—*magna fiet alteracio circa leges et sectas.*"

Now a hundred years later we have the years 1517 and 1518, that is the beginning of Protestantism.

This is not the place to hazard an explanation of these predictions, so ancient and so authentic, and which seem to come from those Arabian authors with whom d'Ailly was so well acquainted.

Let us note, however, that Columbus in his book entitled

¹These dates should be remembered; we will see their importance later, when there is question of the time when Columbus could become acquainted with the *Imago Mundi*.

²*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1904, vol. xxv.

Las Profecias has quoted our author and was inspired by the same ideas.¹ At bottom it is the ever-recurring topic which has held the attention of scholars and theologians for three centuries, viz., the methods and value of astrological science. La Fontaine has formulated the problem in two magnificent lines:

"Le Createur aurait-il imprimé sur le front des étoiles,
Ce que la nuit des temps renferme dans ses voiles?"

Two years after writing this last treatise, on August 9, 1420, Cardinal d'Ailly died at Avignon. His body was brought to Cambrai in 1422 and buried in the chancel of the Cathedral, where it remained till the French Revolution. His ashes were then thrown to the winds, *ludibria ventis*; his works, too, are scattered in all the libraries of France and other countries. We have counted one hundred and seventy-six, which gives evidence of an activity in science, literature, and theology which was really extraordinary.²

II

HIS COSMOGRAPHICAL IDEAS. ERRORS AND GAPS IN HIS SYSTEM

Of the numerous works of Pierre d'Ailly, thirty at least refer to geography, astronomy, and cosmography. These writings are the more valuable because they are not only an epitome of that prelate's personal opinions, but an accurate reflection of all that was taught and known in his time. It is an encyclopedia including the ancient texts as well as those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is from these books that Columbus drew his erudition and gathered his quotations of ancient philosophers and poets. In fact, it would be easy to find in the ancient authors passages which may have encouraged the hero to follow up and realize his gigantic design. Aristotle

¹De Lollis, *Raccolta Columbiana, Scritti*, p. 81 ff. Cf. H. Vignaud, *Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Colomb*, vol. i, p. 685. This work, in two large volumes, was published by Welter in Paris in 1911. We shall frequently cite it.

²We have published their titles in the *Bibliographie moderne* (1908) of M. Stein and in the *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation de Cambrai* (1909), vol. lxxiv. Cf. *Index omnium Alliaceri operum* in our *Petrus de Alliaco*, p. xix.

had said in his treatise *De Caelo*: "The earth is not a very large sphere. Those who believe that the Pillars of Hercules are near to India do not seem to hold an opinion too far from probability."¹ Seneca, in one of his tragedies, describes a new world situated beyond the known seas:

"Time will come in ages far away
When Ocean will undo the bonds of nature
And mighty earth be open laid to men
And Thetis will to men new worlds reveal
Nor Thule longer be the last of lands."

These famous verses from the "Medea" seem to have made a strong impression on Columbus, for he copied them twice in his own handwriting and translated them. Quotations equally pointed from Pliny, Strabo, and other authors must have been known by the great navigator.

Perhaps he had, so to say, heard in his cradle the stories about Atlantis, which were then so common. This was an immense island, greater than Asia or Africa, and situated beyond the Pillars of Hercules, but on this side of a great continent. Its inhabitants were warlike and rich, but they were blinded by their prosperity. They degenerated and God punished them. One fatal day they were swallowed up by the sea, together with their island home. Where it had been situated sea-farers found muddy slime, which prevented them from going farther.² Plato had borrowed this wonderful tale from the Egyptians. Twice he had embellished it with his genius and spread it throughout the whole ancient world.

The philosopher had left the second part of his narrative unfinished, but it had been completed by popular imagination. Atlantis had disappeared, but the continent, the access to which

¹*De Caelo*, vol. ii, xiv. This work is regarded as apocryphal, but it was often cited during the Middle Ages. Cf. Vignaud, *Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Colomb*, vol. i, p. 223.

²*Medea*, act ii, scene iii. Certain critics, like Humboldt, place the ancient Thule in the Shetland Islands. Others, like Elisée Reclus, in Iceland, or in the Faroe Islands (*l'Amérique boréale*, p. 10). It is certain that Columbus identified Thule with Iceland. He boasts of having sailed a hundred leagues beyond this island. Cf. Vignaud, *Etudes critiques sur la vie de Colomb*, 1905, pp. 375 and 380.

³Plato, *Timæus*, translated by Cousin, vol. xii, p. 111; *Critias ou l'Atlantide*, *Ibid.*, p. 274.

it barred, still existed in the memory and the hopes of men, and people expected one day to find it. Thus when Dante in his *Inferno* and *Paradiso* speaks of the distant regions protected against the daring of sea-farers by superstitious fears, he is but the poetic echo of ancient dreams and of popular legends.¹

Since Columbus' discovery philosophers and poets have repeatedly taken up the myth of Atlantis; they have found there the subject for romances or of pictures sometimes charming and oftener shocking and have used the grandest imagery.²

Following the lead of Aristotle, Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas teach the theory of the sphericity of the earth, the existence of the antipodes, and they enlarge upon the reasoning of the Stagyrte. As a hypothesis, they already speak of the theory of the formation of the world which is connected with the name of Laplace. In the Dominican school of the Middle Ages the scientific dogma of the sphericity of the earth was universally adopted, and it is expressed in all the treatises on the sphere written by members of this order.³ This principle was generally taught in Spain in the fifteenth century.⁴

But what views, then, are put forth by the author in the *Imago Mundi*, the book which so strongly impressed the mind of Columbus? "The earth is spherical," he writes, and the western ocean is relatively small. Aristotle, differing from Ptolemy, teaches that more than one-fourth of the earth is inhabited, and Averrhoes upholds the same opinion. The Stagyrte again affirms that the sea is not extensive between the coasts of Spain and the west on the one hand, and of India and the Orient on the other. It is not the Spain of to-day which is referred to," continues d'Ailly, "but ulterior Spain, which is Africa. Seneca assures us that one can cross this sea in a

¹*Inferno*, xxvi, 27; *Paradiso*, xxxii, 28.

²F. C. Bacon, *La Nouvelle Atlantide*; Nep. Lemerrier, *l'Atlantide*; Marquis de Pimodan, *La découverte de l'Atlantide*. The epic poem of the Catalan priest Jacinto Verdaguer excels all the other compositions which treat of this subject.

³Cf. Mandonnet, *Les Dominicains et la découverte de l'Amérique*, 1873, pp. 40 and 87. Cf. Jourdain, *De l'influence d'Aristote et de ses interprètes sur la découverte du Nouveau Monde*, Paris, 1861.

⁴H. Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. i, p. 722.

few days if the wind is favorable.¹ Besides, Pliny declares that ships can go in a short while from the Gulf of Arabia to Gadès (Cadiz) in southern Spain. From this it is inferred that the ocean is not large enough to cover three-fourths of the area of the earth. Esdras affirms in his fourth book that six parts of the earth are habitable, and are actually inhabited, while the seventh part alone is covered with water. The authenticity of this book has been recognized by the saints, who have made use of it to confirm sacred truths."² Beyond Thule, the last island of the ocean after a day's journey, the sea is frozen and torpid, *pigrum et concretum est mare*.

The learned cardinal adopts the opinion of Aristotle and Seneca mentioned above, but he points out that many parts of the earth cannot be inhabited, either on account of the excessive heat or the too intense cold. He adds: "At the poles live great monsters and ferocious beasts hostile to man. Water is abundant there, because these places are cold and the cold increases moisture." Strange physics, the quaintness of which is only equalled by that other remark which he also borrows from Aristotle: "The western coast of Africa cannot be far distant from the eastern coast of India, since in both countries there are elephants."³

In a following chapter he writes: "Certainly the distance by land from Spain to India going westward is more than half the circumference of the earth."⁴ We shall, then, conclude that the distance to be covered by sea westward bound is much less. The circumference of the earth according to d'Ailly is 10,200 leagues.

The cardinal admits the existence of the antipodes: "This

¹*Quaest. natur.*, v—Cf. Colomb, *Historie*, Venice, 1571, xii, p. 14. Vignaud, *op. cit.*, i, 315; De Lollis, *Raccolta*, *Postille ai trattati di P. d'Ailly*, note 23.

²*Imago Mundi*, vii. This work was finished on August 10, 1410, probably at Cambrai. The fourth book of Esdras is not canonical, but Columbus regards it as important and returns to it several times in his writings. Cf. De Lollis, *Raccolta*, *Scritti*, ii, p. 39.

³*Imago Mundi*, c. xlix. Cf. *Epilogus mappæ mundi* at the end of the *Imago*, cap. *De Mari*. Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas also emphasize this argument. Cf. Mandonnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 and 61.

⁴Cap. xli.

part of the earth," he says, "is like our own hemisphere as regards distance from the sun and the poles and as regards its being peopled and the quantity of water. These countries have winter when we have summer, and are not covered with water, as the common people believe."¹

In another paragraph of the *Imago Mundi*, he adds: "Thus there is a narrow strip of water stretching from one pole to the other and forming a sea which extends from the extremity of Spain to the beginning of India, so that the beginning of India occupies on the other side of the equinoctial line (*i.e.* on the other hemisphere) a position almost similar to that which the end of our own hemisphere occupies."²

In the chapter of the *Compendium Cosmographiae*, which was probably written after the *Imago*, d'Ailly comes back to the same ideas: "According to philosophers," he says, "the Ocean which extends from the extremity of Ulterior Spain, that is to say, Africa in the west and the end of India in the east, is not very wide, for it can be crossed in a very few days if the wind is favorable, and therefore the extremity of India in the east cannot be very far from the extremity of Africa."³

D'Ailly is quite an independent thinker in cosmography. On many points he refuses to acquiesce in the opinions taught by all the schools of his time. He shrinks from believing the testimony of a number of authors that the sea covers three-fourths of the globe, and he is mistaken.

With Aristotle and Pliny, he is wrong when he asserts that no communication is possible between the two temperate zones of the Eastern Hemisphere, by reason of the torrid zone, which is uninhabitable and which cannot be traversed. Likewise, he is strangely mistaken when he writes that the Atlantic Ocean is not extensive and difficult to cross. As we see, some of the ideas which haunted the mind of d'Ailly were cosmographical

¹*Epilogus mappæ mundi, cap. De figura terræ et De Mari.*—Cf. Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, i, p. 319.

²D'Ailly, *Imago Mundi*, C. xxxviii.

³*Compendium Cosmographiæ*, C. xix. The second work, which is the complement of the *Imago*, was written in 1412, according to the best-informed biographers of the Cardinal.

errors, but they were for a long time accepted as indisputable truths.

As we have already said, the book of the cardinal contained an almost complete collection of all the ancient texts that might encourage the daring of seamen.

He is also quite an authority on the science of his time. It is not always an easy task to discover the personal opinion of the erudite bishop, so many are the opinions, at times contradictory, which he quotes in his learned compilation. We have found in it a singular mixture of the names of the Fathers of the Church and of Arabian astronomers, St. Isadore, St. Augustine, and Orosius are cited alongside of Alfragani and Albategni. The Venerable Bede, the Light of the West in the eighth century, is found alongside of St. John Damascene, who instructed and edified the Orient at the same time. Ptolemy at times contradicts Aristotle, and Pliny is followed by that mediocre Solinus, who not without reason has been nicknamed "Pliny's ape."

Not once do we meet with the name of Roger Bacon in this work, although it must be said that the *Imago Mundi* borrows a number of ideas from the *Opus Majus* of the celebrated Oxford Franciscan.¹

The cosmographer of Cambrai blunders in ignoring his contemporaries. All his science, as Montaigne says, was "bookish," and all that has not been written several centuries before seems not to exist for him. The written and oral traditions which Roger Bacon had repeated seem to have been totally unknown to him.

We wonder how it is that the Bishop of Cambrai, writing in 1410, does not mention those valiant burghers of Dieppe whose expeditions to the coast of Guinea began in 1364 and continued during the whole of the fourteenth century. They built forts and factories on the Gold Coast and filled the ports of France with ivory, pepper, and gold dust. How is it that

¹Cf. Von Humboldt, *Cosmos*, vol. ii, pt. ii, section 6; *Etudes Religieuses* of the Jesuit Fathers, 1876, vol. ii, p. 23; Emile Charles, *Roger Bacon*, p. 275. See also Bridge's edition of the *Opus Majus*, vol. i, pp. 285-375, and H. Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, i, pp. 98 and 319.

d'Ailly, a former almoner of Charles VI, is silent about the voyage of John of Béthencourt, a chamberlain to this prince, who in 1402 sailed over the first sections of the immortal voyages of Columbus and of De Gama? How is it that he does not mention the name of the Franciscan Piano Carpine, who about the middle of the thirteenth century was sent by Innocent IV to the king of the Tartars? Did he not know William of Rubruck, an envoy of St. Louis to the prince of the Mongols?¹ Why has he forgotten Marco Polo, whose narrative, printed at Genoa, in 1298, spread so quickly over the Christian world?² And John of Monte Corvino, who died Archbishop of Peking (and John Mandeville, the English explorer, who died in 1372)? All that great movement of religious apostleship and geographical exploration passed by him without his noticing it, or at least without his showing that he was affected by it. It would be easier to forgive the prelate of Cambrai for not being acquainted with the expeditions of Irish monks and Scandinavian or Icelandic pirates in the northern part of America, or for not having heard of those adventurous peregrinations which had begun about the eighth century and which hardly ended in his time. The Sagas, whose narratives are not all fabulous, speak of the voyages which led to the first discovery of the American continent. The most important of these expeditions had as its chief Leif, son of Eric the Red, the colonizer of Greenland. He went as far southward as a country which he called Vineland, because the vine and wheat grew wild there.³ It never occurred to him that monks had found immense lands in the west, where they had spread the Faith of Jesus Christ, and whither they had brought in the folds of their

¹The voyages of Piano Carpine and Rubruck were printed at Paris in 1839 and in the *Recueil de voyages et de Mémoires*, published by the *Société de Géographie*, pp. 207 and 397. Cf. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire littéraire des Pays-Bas*, 1765, i, 213.

²Cf. *Le livre de Marco Polo*, first published by G. Pauthier, Paris, 1865, 2 vols., 8vo. Introduction. Cf. also our *Petrus de Alliaco*, p. 173.

³The situation of this country is not known. Cf. Vignaud, *Les expéditions des Scandinaves en Amérique devant la critique*, in 8vo, 1911, p. 14. *Histoire de la conquête des Canaries par le sieur de Béthencourt* (1402-1422), Charton, *Voyageurs anciens et modernes*, vol. iii; *Etudes religieuses*, 1876, vol. ii, p. 13.

white robes the rule of St. Columbanus, the germs of Christian civilization.

It is not our intention to enlarge upon the legends concerning the Irish St. Brendan. That pious adventurer, it was said, had found the Garden of Eden in a far distant island of the West. Nothing was more popular in the Middle Ages than these narratives, the fabulous details of which should not make us lose sight of the elements of truth which they contain.¹ What is absolutely certain is that the Scandinavians had founded two colonies in Greenland, and that they maintained them only by great sufferings and privations; it is also beyond doubt that a diocese where the Christian religion flourished had been founded in the twelfth century (about 1120) for Greenland and the northeast of America. The Norse diocese of Gardar on the Ericsfiord was first a dependency of Hamburg-Bremen, then of Drontheim in Norway; while the whole country was under the suzerainty of the kings of the latter country until the fifteenth century. This diocese paid Peter's Pence and tithes with cargoes of furs, seal-fins, ox-hides, or seal skins and teeth of whales.²

All the generous inspirations which stirred the Catholic world were felt even to the extremities of the then known world. A crusade was preached in these glacial isles about 1274, and the ecclesiastics gave up one-tenth of their whole income toward the liberation of the Holy Land. The fervent eloquence of Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard had indefinitely reverberated echoes in these limits of the globe. Perhaps soldiers of Saladin that came out of the blazing deserts of Arabia found before them under the walls of Jerusalem warriors from the icebergs of Greenland, who wore on their shoulders the sign of the holy

¹Ozanam, *La civilisation chrétienne chez les Francs*, edited by Lecoivre, 1872, 12mo, pp. 115, 157, 565.

²P. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves*; Gravier, *Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands au siècle*, 1874. All these assertions have been confirmed by authentic documents in the Vatican archives and cleverly explained at the last International Scientific Congress at Paris in 1890 by Dr. Lucas Gelic de Spalatro (Dalmatia). See report of the fifth section, p. 183. Cf. Eug. Beauvois, *La chrétienté du Groenland au moyen âge* in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, April, 1902, pp. 555, 556, 572 ff.; Munch, *Histoire de Norvège*, vol. i.

expedition and who crossed swords with them in the name of Jesus Christ.¹

Faith was as adventurous as glory. Missionaries and sailors sailing from Greenland made expeditions north as far as the Straits of Lancaster and Barrow and discovered Newfoundland in 1285. They explored the remotest labyrinth of the Arctic Ocean and were the predecessors of the boldest explorers of the nineteenth century, of Bellot, Parry, McClure, and Nordenskiöld. They sailed south along the coasts of Labrador and Canada, and perhaps even farther south. The Great Schism had its echo in these glacial lands, and we find there rival bishops appointed by the courts of Rome and Avignon.

It is undoubtedly possible that Columbus did not know these details, which have had no influence on the history of civilization. But he may have had some vague and general knowledge of the discoveries which had been made in the preceding centuries in the northwest of Europe, for the memory of the Scandinavian and Icelandic expeditions was never entirely lost.²

Strange coincidence! It was about the time when the Christian navigator landed in the West Indies to bring them the Faith of Jesus Christ that the diocese of Gardar disappeared, wiped out by the invasions and ravages of the barbarians coming from the neighboring pagan shores. In 1448 Pope Nicholas V, "having heard the wailings of his well-beloved children of Greenland, commissioned the bishops of Holt and Skalhott in Iceland to look after their spiritual welfare." This decision remained without effect. Half a century later the unfortunate Greenlanders renewed their petition, and in 1492 Alexander VI sent his Bulls to the Benedictine monk

¹Fischer, *Testilhes (dîmes) for the Crusades in Greenland*, 1276-1282, New York, 1906; Gaffarel, *Histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*, 1892, vol. i, p. 334.

²This is the opinion of HARRISSE, *Fernand Colomb*, p. 104, of PAYNE, "History of the New World," 1892, vol. i, p. 107, and of NORDENSKIÖLD, *Periplus*, 1897, p. 84. VIGNAUD positively rejects the view that Columbus knew anything of voyages to Vinland and that he had been informed by the Icelanders, *Études critiques*, p. 386 ff. "It is absurd," he says, "to make Leif or Karlsefni rivals or precursors of Columbus. The discovery of the Norsemen seems to have been as useless to mankind as to themselves." *Les expéditions des Scandinaves en Amérique*, p. 34.

Mathias Knutson, whom he intended to be the Bishop of Gardar. It is the last evidence of the sympathy of the Church for her daughter of the North and of the relations between Europe and the dying colonies of Arctic America.¹ This pontifical act is, so to say, the funeral oration of the most ancient Church of the New World. But nations that have been baptized die only to live again; a few months later, the same Pope, Alexander VI, was receiving with joy, admiration, and hope the tidings of the discovery of the New World.

III

WAS COLUMBUS ACQUAINTED WITH THE BOOKS OF D'AILLY? WAS HE INSPIRED BY THEM?

Was Columbus acquainted with the suggestive and curious texts of the Bishop of Cambrai? Undoubtedly so; proofs are abundant; all the authors who have considered the question answer in the affirmative, and Columbus himself readily acknowledges it.

The Chapter of Seville possesses a famous library, the first instalment of which dates from the Middle Ages. In the sixteenth century it was increased by collections made by Ferdinand Columbus, the second son of the Admiral, who was one of the greatest bibliophiles and one of the most enlightened scholars of his time. In his frequent travels through Flanders and other countries he bought or received 15,370 books and manuscripts, a number which no private library had as yet reached. He gathered at Seville all these literary and scientific riches and appointed as librarian of the Columbine John Vasaeus, a man from Bruges, whom he had met in the course of his first voyage to Flanders in 1522.²

The most curious books of this collection are undoubtedly those which he has covered with notes. His favorite authors

¹Eug. Beauvois, *op. cit.*, p. 586, and *Découvertes des Scandinaves en Amérique du Xe au XIIIe siècle. Fragments of Icelandic Sagas*, first translated in the *Revue orientale et Américaine*, Paris, Challemeil, in 8vo, 1859, p. 77; J. Guiraud, *Histoire partielle, Histoire vraie*, Paris, 1912, vol. II, p. 136.

²Harris, *Excerpta Columbiana*, 1887; Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. I, p. 102. *Etudes critiques*, p. 298.

are Pliny, then Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveler, whom he has annotated three hundred and sixty-six times;¹ then Æneas Sylvius, who later ascended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Pius II, and whose volumes show eight hundred and sixty-one notes.² But, above all, he preferred the great Bishop of Cambrai, Pierre d'Ailly. The volume which contains his principal cosmographical work, the *Imago Mundi*,³ as well as numerous other treatises, is enriched by 1898 notes either in the handwriting of the Admiral or oftener still in that of his brother Bartholomew,⁴ to whom the copy belonged. Several of the notes are of very great value. It is on account of its special importance that the book of the Cardinal of Cambrai is preserved at Seville in a crystal urn, the gift of a Spanish nobleman who was an enthusiastic admirer of Columbus.⁵

Moreover, in the leisure time which followed his third voyage, from 1501 to 1502, Columbus had gathered a certain number of prophecies taken from sacred and profane authors concerning the new lands to be discovered and the conquest of the Holy Land to be achieved by means of the treasure to be found there. This we shall consider later.

The texts of these predictions copied by different secretaries

¹*De consuetudinibus et conditionibus orientalium regionum*, translated from Italian into Latin by François de Pepuriis of Bologna, in 4to.

²*Historia rerum ubique gestarum*, Cologne, 1477. Cf. Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. i, p. 101.

³*Imago Mundi*, c. viii. *De quantitate terræ habitabilis*. Anaximander, Leucippus, and Homer had denied the sphericity of the earth. They compared it sometimes to a cylinder and sometimes to a disc.

⁴Of these notes, several have been reproduced by the learned Franco-American bibliographer, M. HARRISSE, in his "Notes on Columbus," New York, 1864-66. Cf. *Études Religieuses*, 1876, vol. ii, p. 24.

⁵Cf. *Libros y autografos de D. Christobal Colon*, by Simon de la Rosa y Lopez. It is an address to the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres in Seville. The learned head of the Columbian library, Don Servando Arboli, has answered it with his customary learning. We take pleasure in thanking Canon Arboli and his first assistant, Dr. Simon de la Rosa. We owe them several of these details. Cf. Vignaud, *op. cit.*, p. 96, and vol. ii, p. 649. He has corrected them by increasing the numbers given by M. Simon de la Rosa. More recently, the Columbian commission of Rome has photographically reproduced all his notes and published them on the occasion of the centenary of the discovery. This excellent work, entitled *Raccolta Colombiana*, we owe to M. de Lollis and several collaborators. It embraces three large volumes and a supplement (1892-1894). We admired it at the Paris exposition in 1900.

were gathered into one book in the seventeenth century and preserved at the Colombine. What gives this collection a priceless value are the notes in the margin in the handwriting of the Admiral.

In these notes Columbus several times quotes the cosmographical works of the Bishop of Cambrai.¹ Of course, these notes, like those of the *Imago*, have not all the same value; they are often only reminders. However, they bear testimony to the preoccupation of the discoverer and of the high esteem in which he held the scientific and other opinions of Pierre d'Ailly.

Fernando Columbus, in the biography of his father attributed to him, also speaks of the texts of the cosmographer of Cambrai.² He, although very conversant with the whole literature of his time, hardly quotes any other geographical writer than Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, and Pierre d'Ailly. He seems to have inherited for the latter all the admiration and gratitude of his father, and places him before Toscanelli, the great Florentine doctor, with whom he says Columbus had dealings.³ The Dominican Las Casas in writing his *Historia* had had before him a copy of the *Imago Mundi* annotated by Columbus, and also the Spanish version, now lost, of Fernando. This is what he writes: "I think that of all ancient writers d'Ailly is the one that had the greatest influence in urging Columbus to

¹*Libro de las Profecias* manuscript in the Columbian library. This book is printed in the *Scritti*, published by M. de Lollia, vol. ii, of the *Raccolta Colombiana*. Cf. Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. i, p. 22.

²*Historie*. M. Harriase thinks that this is not by Fernando Columbus, though it is as old as the sixteenth century. He feels certain, however, that the original manuscript was written by Columbus' son, but the Italian editors have made some changes and additions in their Venetian edition of 1571. Harriase has vigorously criticized certain assertions in the *Historie*, and has shown that the book which was written in a purely apologetic spirit cannot be blindly trusted. Father Mandonnet holds the same opinion. *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 179, 186.

³Vignaud absolutely rejects the authenticity of Toscanelli's letters to Columbus. Columbus never mentions them; his contemporaries knew nothing of them. Besides the style, the logical construction and variations in the text make it difficult to believe that these two letters are the work of Toscanelli and that they belong to the date to which they are assigned (*Histoire critique*, vol. i, p. 88 ff., and vol. ii, p. 340 ff.). Several circumstances, moreover, lead us to suspect that the letters attributed to Toscanelli are apocryphal. (*Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 344, and vol. ii, p. 398.)

carry out his great project."¹ Navarrete is of the same mind.² Count Roselly de Lorgues, the historian, or rather the panegyrist, of the great navigator, comes to this conclusion: "Of all these books the *Picture of the World*, the *Imago Mundi* of Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, seems to be the only one which gained over his mind a marked influence, due to the author's ecclesiastical rank and orthodoxy no less than his learning."³ The learned Von Humboldt, surnamed the "Modern Aristotle," more soberly and competently makes a very similar remark; he adds, however, that outside of what he drew from d'Ailly Columbus was a man of no learning, a stranger to physics and natural science, very weak in geometry and not very familiar with mathematics.⁴ Mr. Charles Jourdain writes in the work above mentioned: "Columbus says that he drew his theories from the works of the best known cosmographers of his time, amongst others, from the *Imago Mundi* of the Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly."⁵ The clever and erudite compiler of the *Raccolta di documenti*, Mr. de Lollis, also says: "*Pietro d'Ailly la fonte geographico-religiosa principale cui s'inspiro Cristoforo Colombo*."⁶ A few years later he wrote in the *Revue des Revues*: "Aside from the fact that Columbus was lacking in that literary culture so common at the time of the Renaissance in Italy, if we drew up a list of the authors quoted by his son we would find,

¹*Historia de las Indias*, vol. i, c. xi, pp. 89, 313. Las Casas, a Dominican born at Seville in 1474, knew the admiral, his family, and the companions of his voyages. He published a number of documents coming from Columbus. From him come the greater part of the statements showing the influence of Toscanelli on the ideas of Columbus, but he was in good faith, though mistaken. On the other hand, he worked on a copy of the journal of Columbus, of which he has left us a copy, with insertions and suppressions. (Cf. Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, i, 259.) His *Historia de las Indias*, begun in 1527, was completed toward 1561, but it was not published until 1875-1876, at Madrid, by the Royal Academy, 5 vols., 8vo. See the pamphlet published by H. Vignaud, 1912, entitled: Henry Harrisse, *Etude biographique et morale*, Paris, Chadenat.

²*Collection de los viajes*, Madrid, 1825, vol. i, p. 409. Cf. Mandonnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70.

³*Christophe Colomb*, c. vii, p. 192, of the illustrated edition, Paris, Palmé, 1880.

⁴*Cosmos*, vol. ii, pt. ii, section vi, pp. 320, 332, 337. Cf. Vignaud, *Etudes critiques*, p. 301.

⁵See above, p. 96, note 3.

⁶*Raccolta*, Rome, 1894, vol. i, pt. v, pp. 84, 88, 95, 105; vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 192, 370.

after deducting from this list those which were not directly consulted by him, that the amount of his erudition did not greatly exceed the few volumes annotated by him on the margin and preserved for us through the care of his son."¹

But why should we quote these ancient and modern authorities? Columbus himself declares that he fed on the contents of the *Imago Mundi*.

In a curious account sent from Hispaniola to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1498, he quotes almost the entire eighth chapter, the leading ideas of which have been expounded above.² The Admiral feels very happy because through his discoveries he proved the correctness of the truth of the theories of the great Bishop of Cambrai concerning the sphericity of the earth and the proximity of western Spain to eastern India. It is also on the authority of Pierre d'Ailly that Columbus adopts fifty-six and two-third miles as the value of a degree,³ as Alfragani had done; a very low value that suited Columbus, who was eager to lessen the circumference of the earth in his own eyes and those of others. It is interesting to note in this connection that when d'Ailly, by making a league equal two miles, comes to the result that *totus circuitus terrae continet decem millia et ducentas leucas*, Christopher Columbus, appalled by these astonishingly large numbers, hastens to substitute in his computation the nautical league corresponding to four miles (Roman), and triumphantly remarks: "*Unus gradus respondat*

¹These works are the *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* of Pius II (1477); the *Imago Mundi* of Pierre d'Ailly; a Latin abstract of the famous book of Marco Polo (1486); the Italian translation of the *Historia naturalis* of Pliny; the Castilian translation of the "Lives of Plutarch," and the "Geography of Ptolemy," Roman edition, 1478. It is to the first three of these works, printed from 1477 to 1487, that Columbus was most indebted. Plutarch contains not a single important note. The Ptolemy contains only his signature. (De Lollis, *Qui a découvert l'Amérique*, in the *Revue des Revues*, January 15, 1898, p. 155-156.)

²This letter is found in Fernando Columbus, c. iv, fol. 8vo; *Las Casas*, vol. i, book i, c. iii, p. 47; *Navarrete*, vol. ii, pp. 242-276, after the *Livres des prophéties*, where this report is also transcribed; this is the original text. De Lollis, *Scritti*, vol. ii, pp. 28-40, text of the *Livres des prophéties*. Humboldt, *Essai critique*, vol. i, pp. 16-18, and Fournier, *Histoire de la vie de Colomb*, pp. 19-20, have translated it almost in full. Cf. Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. i, pp. 102, 487.

³Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. i, 312.

milliariis 56 2/3 et circuitus terrae est leuche 5100: haec est veritas."¹

This indisputable and preponderating influence of d'Ailly on Columbus explains why Americans will pay such high prices for any copy of the *Imago Mundi*. These are the first pages of their history, or rather of their prehistory, which is found in Pierre d'Ailly's pages. But this is not all. The Bishop of Cambrai influenced his age in more ways than this, and especially by the famous page we have quoted. We shall not speak of Toscanelli, to whom many attributed the first idea of going to India by way of the west, and to the east, by sailing westward. All the ideas of Toscanelli on the relative smallness of the sea, on Cypango and Cathay, all his mistakes in citing the measurement of Marinus of Tyre are the same as those made by d'Ailly.

But Toscanelli's correspondence with a certain Canon Martins and with Columbus himself is not looked upon as authentic by Mr. Vignaud and others. It is certain that no trace of it remains either in the papers of Columbus nor in those of Toscanelli, nor in the Portuguese archives, nor in any contemporary authors. We are acquainted with it only through Fernando Columbus and Las Casas,² and their testimony is contradicted by excellent intrinsic and extrinsic reasons. We should not, then, insist on certain coincidences, for it is hard to understand at what time and through what channel Toscanelli could have become acquainted with the manuscripts of d'Ailly.

It is certain, however, that d'Ailly inspired the maker of the very original globe which we admired at Nuremberg. This cosmographer, whose name was Martin Behaim, was the most remarkable disciple of the famous Regiomontanus. That famous cosmographical document shows Antilia to the westward of, and a considerable distance from, the Azores: according to the author, then, it would be rather near to India. It is the idea of Pierre d'Ailly. And still Behaim does not mention the Bishop of Cambrai, but we know from other sources

¹De Lollis, *Revue des Revues*, 1898, p. 158.

²Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. i, pp. 114-160; vol. ii, pp. 486, 548.

that he received his inspiration from the *Imago Mundi*. In fact, Hartmann Schedel, the author of the famous "Chronicle of Nüremberg," was printing his work in that city in 1493 at the very time when Behaim was finishing his globe, which is so well known in the history of geography.¹ Now Schedel, the collaborator of Behaim, left a note, in which he names all the authors laid under contribution by his friend, and in particular d'Ailly. The prelate is always mentioned in company with Ptolemy, Aristotle, Pliny, and Strabo, and he must be considered with them as one of the inspirers of the globe-maker of Nüremberg.²

On the other hand, a learned physician of Nüremberg, Jerome Müntzer, was a friend of Schedel and Behaim. On July 14, 1493, he sent a letter to King John of Portugal to urge him to continue his maritime expeditions in the West and "to find the rich eastern land of Cathay." In support of this plan Müntzer quotes Aristotle, Seneca, and d'Ailly. This letter reached Portugal a few months after the return of Columbus to Palos (March 15, 1492).³ The project was accomplished and the Spanish kings had anticipated King John in the mysterious regions of the West.

Thus we see that the passage from the works of Cardinal d'Ailly which has been quoted before had been read and commented upon in the fifteenth century in the most cultivated circles and in various countries. Aside from Toscanelli at Florence, the two Columbuses at Hispaniola, Behaim and Müntzer at Nüremberg, and later, in 1516, Waldseemüller at Saint Dié, received their inspirations from it. What page even of the most famous authors has been more suggestive than this one? What cosmographical conception has been more fruitful in bold initiatives or in great results? It set men to think, to

¹A fine reproduction is found in Paris in the map department of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, dated 1847.

²Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, p. 445. Cf. Ravenstein, "Martin Behaim, His Life and His Globe," London, 1908: Janssen, *L'Allemagne et la Réforme*, vol. i, p. 115, and vol. xii, p. 302.

³A French translation appears in Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. ii, p. 620. This letter of Müntzer was discovered only recently, although it was printed toward the end of the fifteenth century.

meditate, and to act. Could d'Ailly have wished for his book a more glorious fate and for himself a larger sphere of action and influence? It may be said without exaggeration that the old and the new world have been the tributaries, or rather the fortunate beneficiaries, of the vast thoughts propagated by the learned Cardinal of Cambrai.

IV

WHEN DID HE BECOME ACQUAINTED WITH THEM? FIRST
HYPOTHESIS: WAS IT BEFORE HIS FIRST VOYAGE?

We now come to an important and perhaps the most delicate part of our task.

When and how did Christopher Columbus become acquainted with the work of Pierre d'Ailly? At what time did he become acquainted with the cosmographical ideas of the Bishop of Cambrai? To what extent did he profit by the *Imago Mundi*? The documents which have recently been brought to light have contributed new elements to the solution of these questions, and we gladly make them known to our readers.

Let us clearly state this difficult question. Columbus certainly knew the works of the Cardinal of Cambrai; it is from him that he borrowed the fundamental principles of his system, as we have proved. But did he know them before his first voyage,¹ when poor, exiled, and rebuffed by all, he was trying to find his way and to move in his favor successively the court of the king of Portugal, the royal commission at Salamanca, the Dominican Diego de Déza, the Franciscans of La Rabida, and lastly the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, at Santa Fé?

Or did he become acquainted with them after his second voyage, when he had already discovered the islands which he was looking for in the West, when fortune began to smile on him, when the first rays of glory shone on him, and when he enjoyed the favor of the Spanish sovereigns?

¹For greater clearness, we subjoin the dates of Columbus' four voyages from Spain to America: First voyage, August 3, 1492, to March 1, 1493; second voyage, October 25, 1493, to 1496; third voyage, 1498 to 1501; fourth voyage, 1501 to 1505.

- Was it before 1492, the time of the first expedition, or in 1494, on coming back from his second voyage to the West Indies? In the first case, d'Ailly was the inspiring and leading angel who dissipated the shadows of the dark sea before the bold sailor, *ferro diverberat umbras*; in the second case, he was Columbus' guardian angel and defender who confirmed him in his designs. After his first success, he prepared new successes for Columbus by revealing to him new and broader cosmographical theories.

Now, we have in our possession two sources of historical information on the life and discoveries of the Genoese discoverer; these are different in origin and character and are often contradictory. The answer will be different according as we trust to the writings of Columbian origin, or to papers which are independent and which emanate from other sources. What authorities must we believe?

The Columbian texts form a series and are all dependent on one another. They come first from Columbus himself, then from his first biographers, the men who were the guardians and editors of his manuscripts, the interpreters of his thoughts, the confidants of his plans, and the defenders of his reputation. We see Ferdinand Columbus, whose tomb we have viewed in the Cathedral of Seville and who was the natural heir of his father; then Las Casas, the great Bishop of Chiapas, who was the trustee of his papers. Both write a detailed account of his life from documents and autographical papers which they alone controlled at the time and a great part of which has unfortunately since then disappeared. Many modern authors regard these two works as the sole and best source of information. They think that we could and should completely rely on the testimony of these two biographers, who did but translate and transcribe the statements of the hero whose life they were relating. At bottom, all their testimony is derived from one source, the writings and papers of Columbus himself, who put into these documents all he wished to include in them, and all he wished to be known.

Modern writers, Irving, Humbolt, and, above all, Roseely

de Lorgues, have followed in the footsteps of these pioneer historians and have followed step by step the Columbian traditions with a robust, nay, even unshaken, faith.

The second source is altogether different and essentially modern. The first to attack the fundamental basis of the legend was Harris, who, in his *Fernand Colomb*,¹ showed that the latter's story is full of error and contains assertions wholly inadmissible. Later, in his *Christophe Colomb*,² he questions the testimony of the father himself with a boldness so far unparalleled and with his usual vigor. Lastly, in his *Colomb devant l'histoire*,³ he exposes with impetuous bitterness all the errors made by his opponents.

Just at this time the *Raccolta Columbiana* appeared, a voluminous work, which reflects the greatest credit upon those who conceived and completed it, especially upon Mr. de Lollis, who was the leading spirit of the commission. Their work, intended at the start to be an apology, was an apologetical one, contained all the documents found in both sources, and so became by the very force of facts, and almost against their intention, a work of justice and a means of correction. The corrections would not have been made twenty or thirty years ago. Says Mr. Vingaud: "It is the great movement of ideas, both in Europe and in America, stirred up by the commemoration of the fourth centenary of the discovery of the New World which has given rise to them; the development of historical criticism in our days has made their importance understood; the many original documents reproduced with that minute accuracy which it was impossible for our fathers to attain enabled me to solve these problems."⁴

On the evidence found in extra-Columbian sources and documents, which the *Raccolta* has put within the reach of the pub-

¹*Fernand Colomb, sa vie, ses œuvres. Essai critique.* Paris, Tross, 1872; large 8vo.

²*Christophe Colomb, son origine, sa vie, ses voyages, sa famille et ses descendants.* Paris, Leroux, 1884, 2 vols.

³*Christophe Colomb devant l'histoire.* Paris, Welter, 1892, large 8vo.

⁴*Études critiques sur la vie de Colomb devant ses découvertes.* Introduction, p. 25.

lic, Mr. Henry Vignaud bases the conclusions of his three important volumes.

With no less ability, but with more self-control and fairness than Mr. Harriette, he demolishes the tradition derived from Columbus' story on many points, and he substantially gives new face to this history, which has, according to Vignaud, hitherto been strangely mutilated, not to say distorted, in character. Henceforth no serious historian can afford to ignore Mr. Vignaud and his evidence, so well supported by documents.

For Mr. Vignaud, as for us, the main question is still, what was the real aim of Columbus in his first voyage?

We may choose between two hypotheses, according as we adopt the Columbian version or follow the texts which do not depend on the version of Christopher and Fernando Columbus, of Las Casas, and of the histories derived from them.

According to the first hypothesis, Columbus is supposed to have been acquainted with the ideas of d'Ailly long before 1492 and to have been guided by d'Ailly's views in planning his project. If we accept this view, where and when had Columbus read the *Imago Mundi*? Neither Columbus nor his continuators answer the question.

Is it true that from the very beginning the bold sailor's intention was to go to Cypango (Japan); or to Cathay (China), the kingdom of the great Khan; or, finally, the legendary country of Prester John (India)? Did he, therefore, intend to reach the East by sailing westward? In that case, he must have known what Pierre d'Ailly said "about the value of a geographical degree being fifty-six and two-third miles, about the great extension of Asia to the east, about the nearness of Spain to India, and about the preference of the measurements of Marinus of Tyre to those of Ptolemy."¹

Such is the hypothesis which has hitherto prevailed in the histories which follow the Columbian tradition. According to these, Columbus conceived his great project *a priori*. By a genial notion he conceived the plan of reaching the Far East by a shorter route. This was his first and dominant idea, so

¹Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. ii, p. 340.

to speak, the guiding star of his life. From the beginning he wished to explore the entire globe and thus "complete the sphere," as Lamartine has it; for this reason he started in frail caravels for the conquest of a part of the globe heretofore unknown. He belonged to the race of the obstinate and predestined discoverers and conquerors of yore.

"Revived in us the charm of mystery, the ruling passion of those giants, which led them to think the earth too commonplace and the seas too narrow"—in these words, Albert Sorel, the historian and poet, sings the great deeds of his ancestors, the great Norman seamen of the past. We do not know whether Christopher Columbus believed the earth was commonplace, but he certainly thought the oceans to be less extensive than they are.

Thus, according to the Columbian traditions, the first step taken by Columbus to carry out his great project was to go to Portugal, in the beginning of 1484, to the court of Joao II. Columbus claims that he strove for fourteen years to convince him, which is evidently an exaggeration. Las Casas says that Columbus first spoke to the king of the islands to be discovered, "islands very rich in gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, and having a considerable population. By the said route he meant afterward to reach the land of India, the great island of Cypango, and the kingdoms of the great Khan."¹

We are better informed concerning his doings at the court of the Catholic sovereigns in 1486. Ferdinand and Isabella granted him an audience, and by their orders Talavera organized a commission, which probably sat at Salamanca, to examine his great designs scientifically and theologically. It is possible that the masters of this university, then one of the most famous in the world, were acquainted with his great projects and were called upon to give their opinions on the ideas of the Genoese navigator. Was the name of d'Ailly then mentioned? We shall say nothing as to this, for we hardly know anything of the proceedings, save the objections that were

¹*Historia de las Indias*, vol. i, book i, chapter xxviii, p. 218; Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. i, p. 386.

raised. But we know that it was under these circumstances that he became acquainted with the Dominican Diego de Déza, professor of theology at Salamanca, and later preceptor to the heir to the throne, Don Juan. De Déza was a kind-hearted and broad-minded man. He understood the great conception of the navigator, and having later become Archbishop of Toledo, he did not cease to protect him.¹ At length, after years of waiting, in 1490 the commissioners rejected his plans.

Greatly discouraged, Columbus next intended to offer his services to France and ask from Charles VIII the ships he needed to carry out his bold designs.

Déza was not the only ecclesiastic to aid and understand Columbus. As early as 1485 he had found aid and protection at the Franciscan convent of La Rabida on the shore of the Atlantic, near Palos. In 1491 Columbus returned to the monastery to meet Juan Perez and Antonio de Marchena, who already understood and approved of his plan. These ecclesiastics presented him to the shipowner Alonzo Pinzon, who also had, or believed himself to have, indications concerning Cypango, and was looking for a way to reach it. His interviews, his nautical experience, his advice and unswerving energy had a very invigorating influence on Columbus. It was he especially who, at the time of their landing at San Salvador, persuaded Columbus that he had reached Cypango or Cathay.

In the meanwhile, we can picture him contemplating from an upper window of the monastery the magnificent panorama of the coast and sea and meditating on the cosmographical ideas of d'Ailly. Beyond that dim line where heaven and earth seem to meet, beyond the horizon wrapped in mist and mystery, he saw new lands to be discovered, and his mind dwelt at leisure on his dearest dreams. At length, after months of waiting and uncertainty, and thanks especially to the exertions of Juan Perez, Queen Isabella recalled the bold sailor; his propositions were referred to another commission, which examined them at

¹Mandonnet, *Les Dominicains et la découverte de l'Amérique*, p. 118. The learned author also recognizes the influence of d'Ailly on Columbus, pp. 19 and 70.

Santa Fé (1491). Certain authors say that the great Cardinal Mendoza approved of it, the Chancellor of Aragon, Santangel, gave him his protection, and the court, after much hesitation, acquiesced in all the demands of Columbus.¹

The Catholic sovereigns ordered the authorities of Palos to furnish Columbus with caravels. The Pinzons brought their active co-operation, and all the difficulties were removed. At last, on the third of August, 1492, the expedition set sail.

At sea the ship's crew became discouraged; they wished to return and attempted to mutiny. Columbus and Pinzon re-established order by setting forth to the mutineers the magnificent hopes which both had conceived and the great task they were accomplishing. In the words of Horace, their hearts were thrice armed against all kinds of dangers.

At last, on October 12, 1492, at two o'clock in the morning, the sailor Rodrigo de Triana first noticed land. Columbus took possession of the isle, which he called San Salvador. Before giving his soul up to the first delights of this wonderful land, of those brilliantly plumaged birds, of those strangely scented trees, and of that *novitas florida mundi* of which Lucretius speaks, the first impulse of Columbus was to give thanks to God and to take solemn possession of the isle by planting the cross. If Columbus knew d'Ailly before his first expedition, the lucky sailor must have given grateful thought to his great teacher, the Bishop of Cambrai. Columbus continued his explorations; he landed in Cuba, then in Hayti (Hispaniola), which islands Pinzon and he successively identified with Cypango. At last, after a few months' cruise in the Antilles, the happy sailor returned to Spain, and reached Palos, March 15, 1493, convinced that he had reached the East Indies.

It was during all the dramatic vicissitudes of a voyage from and to Spain, during those days when hope and doubt were contending in the breasts of his companions, that Columbus wrote his "Diary." He explicitly declares that the Asiatic Indies

¹The capitulations of Santa Fé speak of the discovery and annexation of certain islands in the ocean known or suspected by Columbus. The text does not speak of the Indies, at least in the official form that has come down to us.

are the object of his journey and that it is by the order of the sovereigns that he goes there. "It is at his suggestion," he tells us, "that they had given him that mission. He had furnished them with information on the countries of the East; he had told them that in that country there lived a great Khan, who on several occasions had asked that teachers versed in the Christian Faith be sent to him. Their Majesties, struck by these considerations, commanded him as Christian princes to interest himself in the triumph of the Christian Faith, to betake himself to these countries of India and to become acquainted with its rulers, in order to convert them. They had also enjoined him not to go by the east, as was the custom, but to travel by the western route, which had never been tried."¹

Then the sailor relates in his "Diary" that "forty-eight days after his departure from Palos, on September 19, his flotilla found itself in the neighborhood of a few islands, which it failed to reach." Columbus tells us that "he did not wish to stop here, because his intention was to pursue his course to India." On October 3 he repeats the same statement. On the tenth he told his people, who complained of the length of the journey, that he had come in these waters to go to India and that he intended continuing his voyage, "until he had found it." From this moment he no longer speaks of going to India, because he believes himself there.² He takes the group of the Antilles for Cathay, Cypango, and the Kingdom of the Great Khan, as we have seen.

If the "Diary" is authentic, if this account has come to us as it was originally written, the assertions of Columbus, which are so explicit, have an inappreciable value and seem to merit belief.

But let us note, in the first place, that we no longer have the literal text of the "Diary"; what we possess is an analysis of a copy of the original document made by Las Casas. In all likelihood, the paper after having been sent to the king was returned to Columbus, who could then reshape the original

¹Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. ii, p. 255. The Spanish text and French translation may be found on page 586.

²Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. ii, p. 256.

manuscript.¹ For several reasons we are inclined to think that this is what took place.² Moreover, the expression *las Indias* which he uses means in his case the lands where I wished to go, i.e. the Antilles, which he was looking for and discovered. There is no question here of East India, to which he never refers in anything pertaining to the first voyage of Columbus.

The explorer repeats these same words in the letters written by him to Luiz de Santangel and Raphael Sanchez after his return, and evidently in the same sense. Besides, it is always in this sense that they are understood by his companions in the first voyage, by the witnesses in the so-called law-suits of the Columbuses, by the sailors of Palos, by the heirs of Pinzon, and by all his contemporaries. Columbus would, therefore, have made known the grand and unusual purpose by incidental remarks, two or three phrases consisting of a word or two hardly connected with the subject, words easily added or omitted.

From this single text, which we have taken care to quote entirely, the modern Columbians have woven their different hypotheses, according to their respective turn of mind, the nature of their works, and the genius of their race.

Many historians, as we know, make use of these facts as themes for rhetorical dissertations and more or less oratorical amplifications, in which what is precise and certain vanishes. A few examples will serve to place before our readers the method which is not new and which science must condemn.

About the visits of Columbus to Portugal the German Sophus Ruge wrote but lately: "Columbus explained his scheme; he talked of the discovery of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, quoted the opinion of ancient authors, mentioned the narratives of former navigators regarding the islands which they had seen, and appealed especially to the narratives of Marco Polo."³

What does Ruge know about the subject, or the American William Prescott, who had before Ruge told a similar tale?⁴

¹Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. i, p. 22, and vol. ii, p. 256.

²Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. ii, p. 259 ff.

³"Columbus," p. 85.

⁴"History of Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. ii, chap. xvi, p. 118.

Before these, in the sixteenth century, the Italian Ramusio had spoken of the propositions made by Columbus to his Genoese fellow-countrymen. In the nineteenth century another Italian, also impelled by local patriotism, gives us an account of the relations of Columbus with Venice, which was always a mystification. Bishop Geraldini invented a journey of Columbus to France, which is a pure fiction.

The Englishman Markham tells us a tragic story of the first stay of Columbus at La Rabida. Following his story, repeated by many others, painters and engravers have represented the Genoese seafarer at the gate of the monastery begging a piece of bread and a glass of water for himself and his little son. Thus it was that romance crept into history.

In recounting the requests of Columbus at the court of Castile, a number of modern authors have spoken of his attitude and language as if they had been witnesses. "He appeared before the sovereigns," says Washington Irving, "with a modest but unembarrassed countenance."¹ "He looked like a king in disguise speaking with his equals," exclaims the enthusiastic Roseely de Lorgues.²

Especially when telling the story of the conference at Salamanca historians, or rather romancers after the example of Irving and several others, have given full rein to their imaginations. Antoine de Latour describes Columbus knocking at the door of the convent of San Esteban at Salamanca, where the Dominican Fathers give him a hearty welcome. They give him a cell near the library, in order that he may continue his researches. The monks gather about him and listen in admiration. They come in such large numbers that they must needs use a large gallery for his lectures. The opponents come forth in their turn, constituting a turbulent majority, and at length succeed in stifling the more authoritative voice of the smaller body.³

Above all, Roseely de Lorgues distinguishes himself by his

¹"Life of Columbus," book ii, chap. iii. Cf. Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. i, p. 385.

²*Christophe Colomb*, vol. i, p. 178.

³*Christophe Colomb à Salamanque*, in *Revue Britannique*, February, 1805.

lyrical tendencies. He is neither a liar nor a deceiver, but he is carried away by passion; he considers Columbus above criticism, and unwittingly distorts the facts by yielding to his oratorical propensities. The works of this historian, with their numerous translations and editions, have made Columbus a conventional person, to handle whom even very respectfully is almost a sacrilege.

On all the occasions which we have just put forth most Columbian authors consider it as something certain and proved that Columbus had from the beginning conceived the plan of going to the Indies by sailing westward. They, therefore, accept as facts what for us is still questionable, and base their stories on what is to be proven. If, on the one hand, we assume that Columbus drew all his ideas from d'Ailly, and if, on the other hand, history from other sources informs us that before his first voyage the discoverer never appealed to the text of the *Imago Mundi*, if, furthermore, it is not proven that he was then at all acquainted with this suggestive page of cosmography, the whole structure crumbles from its foundation. Let us also notice that the printing of the *Imago Mundi* was finished in Louvain by John of Westphalia in 1487. Now, the date of the first voyage is 1492. It is scarcely probable that an unknown book, published in a far-away city of Brabant, became known in such a short while in the center of Andalusia. Neither Columbus nor his ancient biographers nor modern historians suggest to us how this volume came into the hands of the navigator before his first expedition. We will now see that Mr. Vignaud and the defenders of the second system are much fuller and more precise in this matter.

V

SECOND HYPOTHESIS: WAS IT DURING HIS SECOND VOYAGE?

The second hypothesis seems from the very outset more free from the exaggerations and serious mistakes which are to be met with among certain advocates of the first opinion. It draws attention to the fact that the preceding system at bottom rests

on only one authority, that of Columbus himself, and that whatever comes to us from Columbus has been believed and blindly accepted by modern and ancient historians from Fernando Columbus and Las Casas to the latest authors of the nineteenth century who have treated the question.

The modern hypothesis, the one especially which is supported by Mr. Vignaud, deals chiefly with the documents recently published in the *Raccolta* and appeals to this valuable collection to control, judge, criticize, and at times reject the correctness of ancient sources. It does not deny the influence of Pierre d'Ailly on the mind of the Genoese sailor—but it claims that the influence of the Bishop of Cambrai was felt later, and it explains very plausibly, it must be admitted, the development of Columbus' ideas in the whole course of his life.

According to this view, the great project of the navigator was not a sudden enlightenment, either natural or supernatural, which came to Columbus before his first expedition and which must have been its cause. This project developed gradually. It was a process which went on for years and was modified and completed through experience and data that had been gathered and co-ordinated with rare intelligence. Far from impugning Columbus' genius, this hypothesis sets before us the various phases of its development, and in the course of that laborious life we remark again the realization of Buffon's phrase: "Genius is prolonged patience."

According to this Vignaud hypothesis, the navigator proposed to himself as his first aim the discovery of certain islands which he thought existed in the West. "He was as sure," says one of his biographers, "of finding what he was searching for as if he had had it locked up in his own room."¹ On what did this conviction rest? In the first place, on the directions of Perestrello, his father-in-law; on the data furnished by a pilot whose name is not known, and whom the winds and currents had driven as far west as the West Indies.² His views were

¹Las Casas, *Historie*, vol. i, book i, chap. xiv, p. 106. Cf. Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, book ii, pp. 205 and 227.

²Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. ii, pp. 212 and 592.

also based on his own voyages along the African coast, on the wreckage which came from unknown lands and which the Atlantic was constantly washing ashore, and on the vicinity of that dark ocean whose mysterious waves seemed to invite seafarers and urge them on adventurous voyages. All these premises had been corroborated, not by Toscanelli, says Vignaud, but by the assertions of Alonzo Pinzon, whose nautical experience was very great.¹

We have already said, on the authority of Humboldt and de Lollis, that the cosmographical competency of Columbus is far from being an established fact. In this respect his knowledge was very superficial; his "Diary" swarms with incoherent statements, and more than one scientific error may be laid to his charge. He is, therefore, not a scientist, though he claims to be one, and boasts in an epistle addressed to the sovereigns in 1501 of his long studies, of his numerous voyages, and of his forty years' experience.² His fixed purpose was to make people believe it was his theories, acquired by long and arduous labor, which have put him on the track of his discovery.

It appears that it was in the course of his second voyage, after his meeting with his brother Bartholomew at Hispaniola, that they studied the works of Pierre d'Ailly together. Then it was that they prepared that great project which Columbian authors, as well as we, have attributed to them, but they place the first idea of it before the departure of the first expedition.

Christopher's brother, his junior by ten years, seems to have played a prominent part in this work of elaboration and adaptation. It seems to us that sufficient credit has not been given to this man, who was remarkable for his energy, initiative, and science. He had lived in Portugal, and from a note in his own handwriting, in the *Imago Mundi* of the Columbian library, we learn that he was at Lisbon in 1488, when Bartholomew Diaz

¹Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. ii, pp. 35 and 195.

²Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. i, pp. 23 and 692; *Etudes critiques*, p. 297. Babinet, Desimoni, and Roseely de Lorgues also affirm the scientific deficiency of Columbus.

came to that city after his discovery of the Cape of Good Hope.¹ Later he went to England in the reign of Henry VII, and to France in that of Charles VIII, and he proposed to these sovereigns the undertaking of a voyage of discovery in the Far West. The two kings rejected his offers.

Bartholomew was versed in Latin; he took a great interest in cosmographical novelties, and was acquainted with the new globe constructed by Behaim according to the directions of d'Ailly in 1492. He was himself a noted cartographer, and a specimen of his talent has been preserved.² He joined Christopher in the Indies in the second expedition and lived at Hispaniola until 1500. Later he accompanied his brother on his fourth voyage, and his courage and devotion was altogether worthy of praise and admiration. He is one of those stars of secondary magnitude which lose their brightness in the light of the greater star, and this explains why his figure has not shown forth in the historical twilight.³

It was probably at Hispaniola in 1494, as we have said, that the two brothers studied together the *Imago Mundi*. The copy was the property of Bartholomew, who probably got it during his stay in France, about 1491.⁴ It came from the printing press of John of Westphalia at Louvain; its owner had already covered it with many notes, and it was perhaps the first printed volume which crossed the Atlantic. The two brothers completed these notes, numbering in all eight hundred and ninety-eight items, and planned together the great enterprise with which they are credited and of which they did not dream previously. We mean their intention of passing into India by the west, and of reaching the Levant by the west. Let us not imagine, however, that Columbus and his brother read all the

¹This note is numbered 23 in the classification of the *Raccolta* and it refers to the famous eighth chapter of d'Ailly, entitled: *De quantitate terræ habitabilis*. We quoted this text above. Cf. Vignaud, *Histoire critique*, vol. i, pp. 434 and 440.

²M. Wieser discovered at Florence the sketches in which Bartholomew tried to represent the discoveries of his brother.

³Vignaud, *op. cit.*, p. 436. Cf. HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, vol. ii, pp. 183-210.

⁴So states Fernando Columbus. The work had certainly been printed in 1487.

books which they quote in order to strengthen their system: Ptolemy, Marinus of Tyre, Seneca, Aristotle, and the others. The knowledge which they had of these texts came from the page of the *Imago Mundi*, which they quoted and commented upon, and which we have reproduced above.

Let us not imagine, either, that the plan issuing from that collaboration of the two brothers was the result of deep thought, of scientific calculations, and of much previous reading, that it was the outcome of the theories which they had conceived; the contrary is the truth. Whatever the Columbuses knew, they owed principally to Pierre d'Ailly, Marco Polo, and to Pius II, as we have shown. Their knowledge was empirical, rather than scientific; they had some maritime experience, but they made no use of new and profound cosmographical data. They listened to and understood sailors, rather than scholars and philosophers, and, above all, they read and meditated upon the already quoted page of d'Ailly.

In order to produce the impression that he always had in mind what has been called his great plan and that he had long before conceived the project of coming to India by the west, Christopher had, in 1496, to use two means: He had, in the first place, to modify what he had written in 1492-1493 in the diary of his first expedition. Then he was obliged to assert in the later documents that he had from the outset the intention of going to the East by sailing westward.

Now, we know from other sources that, apart from a sentence of Las Casas, there was no mention of this grand plan either at the Court of Portugal or before the Junta of Salamanca or at the Convent of La Rabida or, finally, at Santa Fé. Columbus speaks of this project only in his "Diary." It was, therefore, necessary to disguise, to correct, and to complete it by introducing into it the announcement of his design.

We have seen what Columbus had to do when he revised his work to put into it what he intended that it should contain and what he was desirous the world should know of his project.

Therefore, for the reasons stated in the preceding chapter, nothing conclusive can be inferred of all that is prior to the

joint studies of Christopher and Bartholomew, and of all it pleased the former to put into his diary. It is very likely, in view of what has been said, that it was in 1494, in the course of his second voyage, and after having studied and commented upon d'Ailly with Bartholomew, that the general programme of Columbus' plans were settled. The documents which were written after this date are authentic and deserve implicit credit when speaking of the great project. Mr. Vignaud does not dispute this, but he declares that this project was not conceived at the date stated by the discoverer. Let us now consider the data posterior to 1494.

The first in chronological order is the narrative of the third voyage¹ sent from Hayti (Hispaniola), and written in 1498. Columbus had at that time discovered South America, and in this document he speaks for the first time of the cosmographical system which he got from Bartholomew. He gives the reasons on which he based his belief in the possibility of passing over to India by the west. He sets forth his ideas on the smallness of the earth and on the small extent of the waters compared with the land. The passage where he gives this explanation is almost literally borrowed from the eighth chapter of the *Imago Mundi* of Cardinal d'Ailly, which we have reproduced above.

The second paper, which also emanates from Columbus, is a famous letter called *rarissime*, which was written at Jamaica, July 7, 1503, and was addressed to the Catholic sovereigns.² It is the narrative of his fourth and last voyage, which was so disastrous. The navigator gives his opinion on the shape of the earth, on the location of the Garden of Eden, and of the mines of Solomon. He sets aside the corrections made by Ptolemy in the calculations of Marinus of Tyre, and adapts the extravagant measurement ascribed by the latter to the then

¹Navarrete, *Viages*, vol. ii, pp. 242-276; Lollis, *Scritti*, vol. ii, no. xvi, pp. 26-40. French translation of Verneuil and de la Roquette, *Relations des quatre voyages*, vol. iii, pp. 1-17. English translation by Major, "Select Letters," pp. 104-168. Cf. Jourdain, *De l'influence d'Aristote et de ses interprètes sur la découverte du Nouveau Monde*, in the *Journal général de l'Instruction publique*, August, 1861.

²Navarrete, vol. i, pp. 296-313; Lollis, *Scritti*, in *Raccolta*, vol. ii, no. 41, pp. 175-225; Morelli, *Lettera rarissima*, 1810; Henry Vignaud, *Etudes critiques*, p. 288; *Histoire critique*, vol. i, p. 103, and vol. ii, p. 342.

known habitable world. There also he declares the length of the equatorial degree to be only fifty-six and two-third miles.¹

The grand programme which we have set forth is not the only one attributed to Columbus. He also conceived another, which was less successful, but which none the less does credit to his faith and to his spirit of initiative. It was between his third and fourth voyages that he conceived this great plan which he propounded in his work, *Las Profecias*, and which he submitted a little later to the Sovereign Pontiff, Alexander VI.

At that time, *i.e.* in the years 1501 and 1502, Columbus, after having been showered with congratulations, money, and honors, had fallen into a sort of disgrace. The sovereigns seemed to have forgotten him; they hardly kept their promises, and he whom they had named Admiral of the Ocean found himself in a situation full of difficulties of all kinds. But his courage did not forsake him; his imagination, constantly at work, was looking for a strait which, according to him, must lie to the west of the Antilles and which would permit him to reach India. He already imagined himself in the possession of those rich countries, and it was his intention to devote the gold to be found there to the realization of one of his favorite schemes, *viz.*, the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre.

This plan had doubtless been conceived by him in 1489, when he took part in the siege of Baza, which was to be wrested from the Mussulmans. He was later confirmed in his project when he beheld Ferdinand and Isabella victoriously enter Granada. "I was present," he says, "when by force of arms the royal banners of Your Highnesses were hoisted over the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of that city. I saw the Moorish king pass through the gates of the city, kiss the royal hands of Your Highnesses and of my lord the Prince."

His ideas became clearer² after his third voyage, when he composed his book, *Las Profecias*, whose title, which seems to have been given it by Navarrete, is as follows: *Prophecies made*

¹See above, p. 107.

²*Lettre de Colomb aux rois Catholiques*, forming the prologue of his *Journal de bord*, August 3, 1492, to March 15, 1493. Vignaud, vol. ii, p. 587.

by the Admiral, Don Christopher Columbus, on the recovery of the Holy City of Jerusalem and the discovery of the Indies, addressed to the Catholic Sovereigns. It is a collection of passages from Holy Writ, from the Fathers of the Church, and also from his favorite guide, Pierre d'Ailly. The purpose of this book seems to have been to collect the texts which favored the providential mission with which he believed himself entrusted. He gives the plan of the projected expedition in the Holy Land and intends to levy for his campaign 100,000 foot soldiers and 10,000 horsemen, to be paid with Indian gold. The author enters into rather peculiar considerations on the end of the world, which he says will take place in one hundred and fifty-five years.¹ He quotes the *Elucidarium astronomicæ concordiæ* and several other works on astronomy and cosmography written by Cardinal d'Ailly. We see that his ideas and preoccupations are always the same as those of his favorite author.

Columbus first sent the manuscripts of his work to Father Gorricio of the Carthusian order, an erudite theologian of Seville, who had an interesting correspondence with the author on the subject. In February, 1502, he sent his work to the Pope and declared his intention of bringing him in person the narrative of his voyages written, he says, in the style of Cæsar's *Commentaries*. He dwelt especially on this idea: that he had discovered a large number of islands full of all manner of wealth, and that these riches must serve for the accomplishment of his mission, which is to wrest the Tomb of Christ from the infidels. What is most pathetic about this letter is that at the time of its composition Columbus, who thus disposed of real treasures for the deliverance of the Holy Land, was penniless. Not only did he often lack the necessary money "to pay his bill at the hostelry, but he had not even a cent to give to the church collection." These disinterested and grand projects conceived in such circumstances evidently spring from a generous heart

¹Vignaud, vol. i, pp. 22 and 685. The *Libro de las profecias* was published entirely by M. de Lollis in the *Raccolta*, as we have said. *Scritti*, vol. ii, pp. 73-160.

and from a soul rising above adversities and troubles of all sorts. Besides, the liberation of the Tomb of Christ was an inspiration shared by all the great minds of this time; it was the dream of Joan of Arc and Columbus' master, Pierre d'Ailly. We dare not assert that Columbus had before him the original text of the fiery exhortations of Cardinal d'Ailly, although it was already printed in his time.¹ Nevertheless, we cannot refuse our recognition to Columbus, for he conceived this design which, so to say, crowns his whole life, which makes of him the successor of Godfrey, of Baldwin, of St. Louis, and the last of the Crusaders.

We assure our readers that we do not wish to subtract a jot from the glory of the discoverer of America, and we seek in no wise to belittle the greatness of his work. He was the messenger of Providence and the man who must be credited with the most fortunate, the most useful, the most famous achievement in the fifteenth century. That age, fruitful and restless like ours, had already seen many wonders and discoveries of all kinds. The invention of printing had stirred the world of thought; the use of gunpowder had changed the ideas and combinations of the military world; the discovery of the mariner's compass had inspired the seafaring world with new courage. The fifteenth century saw the extinction of the Great Schism in the Church after the tragic failures of Pisa, Constance, and Basil. It had beheld the achievements of Vasco da Gama and the conquest of Granada by the arms of Ferdinand and Isabella. After a struggle of seven centuries the chivalry of Spain and Christopher Columbus himself had filled with their shouts of victory the fairy halls of the Alhambra just evacuated by Boabdil. The men of those days had witnessed the fall of Constantinople under the assaults of the barbarians. One of the horns of the crescent, that turned against Spain, had been crushed forever, but the other threatening the East looked more dangerous than ever before.

¹The *Tractatus et sermones*, which include the sermons and a few short treatises of d'Ailly, were printed at Strassburg in 1490 and at Brussels about the same date. Cf. Pellechet, *Catalogue général des incunables*, vol. i, p. 119.



CANON LOUIS SALEMBIER.

On the other hand, the intellectual world began to applaud the triumphs of the Renaissance in literature and art. Withal, we may declare without hesitation that no contemporary event caused a sensation so great as the arrival of Columbus in America, and the tidings of the discovery of a new world.

VI

CONCLUSIONS

Let us now briefly sum up the conclusions to which modern critics have come on the basis of the documents recently published.

Cardinal d'Ailly had—we knew it already—a very considerable influence on the movement of ideas in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. And yet, notwithstanding all the services which he rendered to philosophy, theology, even astronomy, we may well ask whether it is not in cosmography that he had the greatest influence on the ideas and activities of his time. Columbus, as we have shown, was indebted to him for everything, or nearly everything, and the *Imago Mundi* was his favorite book.

We regret to inform our readers that Canon Louis Salembier the author of the above learned and enlightening article, died since writing the same. His death occurred October 30, 1913.

Louis Salembier was born at Leers in the Department of the Nord, March 7, 1849. After studying the classics for six years at the College of Notre Dame de la Tombe at Kain near Tournay, and studying theology for eight years, partly at the Grand Seminary of Cambrai and partly at the University of Lille, he became professor at the College of Valenciennes in 1869, where he remained until 1872. The next four years, from 1873 to 1877, were spent in the ministry at Douai, after which he was appointed almoner for the monastery of Esquermes at Lille. But his scholarly instincts and the recognition of his learning brought about his appointment as Professor of Church History

at the University of Lille in 1893, where he remained until 1910.

His first published work was his thesis on theology which was published in 1882. The thesis which brought him the doctor's hat had for its subject Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, one that greatly interested him and to which he returned again and again almost up to the day of his death. Our readers will find sub-joined a complete list of Canon Salembier's publications:

Cinquante thèses Latines de licence en théologie (1882).

Les Examens de jeunes filles dans le Nord de la France (1883).

Thèse latine de doctorat sur le cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, évêque de Cambrai (1350-1420).

Petrus de Alliaco (1886) Lille, L'Université de Douai (1887).

Philippe de Maizieres et le songe de Vergier (1887).

Le Bienheureux Edmond Campian et ses compagnons martyrs (1888), Douai.

Notions de Psychologie a l'usage des jeunes filles (1890).

Une page inédite de l'histoire de la Vulgate (1890). (Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques), Lille.

Biographie des prêtres du Diocese de Cambrai 2 vols. (1890).

Vie de Jeanne d'Arc a l'usage des écoles (1891), Lille (Deuxième Edition 1897, troisième édition 1899).

Jeanne d'Arc et la region du Nord (1891) (Revue de Lille).

Un évêque de Cambrai et la découverte de l'Amerique (1892).

Dom Pitra (1893) (Revue des Sciences ecclésiastiques).

L'Abbe Guillemont, curé de Marcq-en Baraeul, Vie et Poesies (1896) (Revue de Lille).

Du Tombeau de Saint Remi au berceau de Jeanne d'Arc (1896).

La Faculté de théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres compte rendu (1898).

Le Grand Schisme d'Occident (1900) Paris, Lecoffre 2me édition (1901), 3me édition 1903, 4ieme édition (1906). Traduction en espagnol, en italien et en anglais.

Deux conciles inconnus de Cambrai et de Lille (1901). Une nouvelle histoire du Concile de Trente, compte rendu (1902). De Bossuet a Davin (1906).

Notre vieille Flandre depuis ses origines, preface (1905).

Michelet, sa vie, ses idées, sa methode, son style (1906). 2 éditions, Paris et Lille.

Les œuvres françaises du cardinal Pierre d'Ailly (1907).

Le Grand Schisme d'Occident au point de vue apologétique (1907).

Martin d'Alpartil et Pierre d'Ailly (1908).

L'Histoire ecclésiastique et M. l'abbé Loisy (1908).

Bibliographie des oeuvres du cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, Paris, Compiègne, Cambrai (1909).

Hommes et choses de Flandre (1911). Edition de la Croix de Nord, Lille Ouvrages orné de nombreuses gravures.

HOLY TRINITY PARISH, BOSTON

BY PAUL H. LINEHAN

THE pioneer German Catholics of Boston were three brothers, Melchior, Sebastian, and Mathias Krämer, who settled there about 1827. The distinction might have belonged to Joseph Oomann, who as a lad of fifteen arrived in 1804 from East Friesland, had he not ceased the practice of his religion—to which, however, he was reconciled some time before his death in 1860. The Krämers were clockmakers from Baden, and had spent a few years in Philadelphia before settling in Boston. They prospered in their new home and became wholesale dealers in Nuremberg wares for the entire New England territory. Soon after them, attracted perhaps by the stories of their success, came Johann Kohler and family, Bernhard and Anton Laform, Philipp Lahr, Peter Piper, Joseph and Mathias Arnold, Hermann Straeter, Caspar Soll, Cosmos Ferner, Joseph Funke, and others.

They found the Catholic faith already established by the Irish and French. The first church, on School Street, a former Huguenot chapel procured in 1788, had been outgrown, and the Church of the Holy Cross, on Franklin near Devonshire Street, a monument to the generosity of men of all denominations, among whom was President John Adams, was open to receive them. The Right Rev. Benedict Joseph Fenwick, who, on December 3, 1825, had become the spiritual head of New England, as successor to John Louis de Cheverus, the first bishop of the diocese of Boston, welcomed the German newcomers into his little flock.

It was but natural for these immigrants to desire a priest of their own race, one who could preach and counsel in their own language. Their wishes were fulfilled when, in August, 1836, the Rev. Franz Salesius Hoffmann arrived from Germany. He labored among them for nearly four months, and

then went to Canton, Ohio. After him, Fr. Edward Freygang, ordained by Bishop Fenwick in December, 1836, ministered until November, 1837. In December, 1837, Fr. Bernard Smolnikar took up the work. Short and unpleasant was his period of ministration. Though at first he labored with enthusiasm, he soon began to revile the Pope and bishops and to declare that Christ in personal revelations had commissioned him to reform the Church. Most of the German people believed that he had become insane. A few, however, had faith in him, and helped him to defray the cost of publishing a three-volume work containing the "revelations." Matthäus Ludwig, whose contribution was \$300, was called the "Apostle Matthew." On May 8, 1838, Bishop Fenwick deposed the unfortunate man, who continued, for some time, to hold private services with his adherents. For over four years after this sad experience the German people were without a priest of their own race, save for the semi-annual visits of Father Johann Raffeiner of New York.

Father Raffeiner¹ urged his fellow-countrymen to build a church for themselves. Despite the indifference with which his suggestion was received, his persistence secured, in March, 1840, the formation of a committee of seven to conduct monthly collections. By July, 1841, the contributions, among which were several thousand dollars obtained from the old country by the bishop, warranted the purchase for \$3477.44 of a parcel of land, 98 x 51, at the corner of Lucas and Suffolk Streets. An edifice, according to the plans of the recently erected St. John's Church in East Cambridge, was soon in process of construction under the direction of a committee of nine, with Peter Wein, senior, chairman. It can hardly be said that enthusiasm or generosity characterized this period in the history of the German Catholics of Boston. At the laying of the cornerstone, June, 1842, the collection amounted to but \$75. The falling down of the north side of the tower on the night of June 10, 1843, almost caused the whole undertaking to be abandoned. But the energy of Peter Wein, Melchior Krämer, and Philipp

¹Cf. List of Clergy, p. 201.

Lahr, who under instruction from a mass meeting raised \$600 by a house-to-house canvass, and the magnanimity of Bishop Fenwick brought about the completion of the sacred structure. Boston was now in possession of a church for German Catholics, the old Holy Trinity, where Mass was said for the first time by Father Franz Rolof in June, 1844.

At the request of the congregation, a young and enthusiastic priest, the Rev. Gerhard H. Plathe, was installed in May, 1844, as successor to the aged Father Rolof, who had been pastor since June, 1842. One of the first acts of the new rector was the establishment of an elementary school for boys and girls. Naturally, the German language was given a place in the curriculum.

Bishop Fenwick had stipulated that the congregation should provide a home for its priest. When, however, Fr. Plathe, tired of boarding with successive families of his parishioners, gave out a contract to build a pastoral residence beside the church, the feeling of discord which had marked the building of the old church appeared again, between partisans and opponents of a parochial residence. The conflict developed into one between High Germans and Low Germans. In October, 1845, Father Plathe was removed, although the bishop had, as the result of a personal hearing on November 17, 1844, dismissed all charges against him. Fr. Thomas McNulty, a young Irish priest, was delegated to say Mass for the congregation.

In March, 1846, Fr. Alexander Martini, a former Franciscan, was given charge of the congregation. On August 11 death deprived the German Catholics of a kind friend in the person of Bishop Fenwick. His successor, the Right Rev. John Bernard Fitzpatrick, was not disposed to temporize with the factions, and announced that continued discord would cause him to dissolve the congregation and to sell the church, as yet not free from debt. Internal strife did not cease. Fr. Martini left Boston in May, 1848. The church was closed, the key placed in the possession of a committee. During June and July there was no priest and no service. Some of the congre-

gation demanded the right to use the church, and declared that if it was not opened by 10 o'clock Sunday, August 7, they would smash in the doors. But this threat was not to be tested. On Sunday, August 7, 1848, Fr. Gustav Eck, of the Society of Jesus, stood before the congregation and read to them a letter authorizing him to assume charge. In the letter the bishop declared that, despairing of the re-establishment of unity and peace, he had thought of taking no further care to procure a priest for the congregation, but that, moved by the love and zeal of Fr. Eck, he had accepted that Father's offer to serve. From that time onward the congregation was regularly in charge of Jesuit Fathers, appointed at first by the Jesuit Provincial in Germany.

Spiritual development despite indifference, and physical betterment despite an absence of generosity, were the ends which the kindly and cheerful priest hoped to accomplish for the congregation. He reopened the school for the children. On the first Sunday of October, 1848, he began with the Rosary Society the custom of holding public devotions. With his approval the St. Vincentius Verein was organized to assist sick members and the widows and orphans of deceased members. The Rosary Society, composed of men, women, youths, and maidens, was dissolved, and from it were formed, in October, 1851, separate confraternities, one for men (157 members) and another for women (230), and in December of the same year two sodalities, one for young men (132) and another for young women (127). The material progress of the congregation kept pace with the religious development. Stations of the Cross were set up by the Krämer family. A Gothic high altar was constructed and an organ installed. In February, 1851, a priest's house, 32 Middlesex Street, was completed, at a cost of \$4184.40, the land having been bought from the bishop, March 22, 1847, for \$800. From a lady in Strassburg came a complete set of vestments for priest and acolyte, and from the Ludwigsverein of Munich the Christmas crib. During these years Fr. Eck was assisted successively by Fr. Franz Lachat, a young Swiss Jesuit refugee; Fr. Joseph Polk, S.J., an Austrian;

Fr. Aloysius Janelik, S.J., a Moravian; and Fr. Norbert Steinbacher, S.J.

In 1853 Fr. Eck began to collect money for the purpose of building a larger church, the need of which was caused chiefly by the recent influx of immigrants from Baden and neighboring states. The approval of Bishop Fitzpatrick had been obtained, but with the stipulation that, as \$8000 was still unpaid on the existing church, further efforts should be made for the collection of funds. In the bishop's absence in Europe, Fr. Eck, with the consent of the Jesuit Provincial, Fr. Brokart, began the construction on Tremont Street, between Dedham and Canton Streets, of a magnificent Gothic structure of granite, designed by Mr. Keely of Brooklyn. It was to be known as the Church of the Immaculate Conception. The experience of the priest and parishioners in this endeavor was most unhappy. To carry on the work he borrowed money, at interest, from members of the congregation. Enthusiasm was not aroused. Fr. Brokart died. The bishop on his return was displeased. In June, 1854, Fr. Eck's ill health compelled him to seek rest with his friend, Fr. Bapst, S.J., in Bangor, Me. Fr. Michael Tüffel assumed charge. On August 30 Fr. Eck departed for Europe, and although his expenses had to be paid by one of the parishioners, Mrs. M. Krämer, stories of his absconding were circulated.

Meanwhile the German Provincial, Fr. Faller, had sent the Rev. Ernst A. Reiter and the Rev. George A. Hellerbach to Boston. They arrived in July, after having been shipwrecked near New York. Fr. Reiter succeeded Fr. Eck, Fr. Hellerbach becoming assistant.

Building operations progressed slowly, and were finally dropped when all hope of Fr. Eck's returning with large sums of money was abandoned. All efforts to induce the bishop to take the partly finished church for his cathedral failed. Fr. Hellerbach went to Georgetown, August 14, 1856, and Fr. Reiter to Conewago, Pa., September 3. The new pastor, Fr. J. B. Cattani, S.J., decided not to try to complete the new church. After vain endeavors had been made to have the So-

ciety of Jesus assume charge of the congregation and take over the entire property, the architect, in payment of his claims, was awarded the plot of ground, the building material, and a mortgage on the priest's house. Fr. Cattani left about the 1st of September, 1858, Fr. Norbert Steinbacher, S.J., becoming his successor. As the latter refused to pay even the interest on the mortgage, he was sent away in January, 1859. Fr. Peter Mans, S.J., was ordered to Boston from Conewago, but just before his departure sprained his leg. In his stead was sent, January 21, 1859, Fr. Reiter, who remained as pastor for over eleven years. Fr. Reiter at once assumed responsibility for all the debts which had been contracted by his predecessor. To raise money to pay the parishioners for money loaned to Fr. Eck was the most difficult task. The bishop decreed that the rent of pews was to be used in payment of the \$8000 debt on the church. To obtain permission to use the savings from the ordinary revenues for the payment of the claims of members of the congregation, Fr. Reiter was compelled to appeal from the decision of the provincial to Fr. Soprani, S.J., then on a tour of inspection in America as representative of the Jesuit General in Rome. Once again the plan of turning the church over to one of the Orders was mooted. The assent of the bishop was obtained, but negotiations with both the Jesuits and the Redemptorists were without result. Fr. Reiter went forward in his attempt to free the parish from burden of debt. Notable among his efforts was a house-to-house collection, in the spring of 1863, which yielded \$1500; a fair in John A. Andrew Hall, in November of the same year (\$4700), and a fair in Music Hall, after Easter, 1864 (\$10,070). By the summer of 1865 he had paid the last dollar owed by the parish.

Simultaneously with the discharge of the accumulated burdens went on improvements in the parish property and preparations for the building of a new church. By the time of his departure, in 1870, the tireless priest had made improvements in church property amounting to \$6619, had purchased three parcels of land for a new church site at a total cost of \$18,

322.25, and had deposited in various banks sums amounting to \$15,284.

Such were the achievements of Fr. Reiter in the financial management of the parish. Signal also were the results of his spiritual ministrations. In 1870 there were 491 children in the parish school. The men's society showed an enrollment of 330, the women's 501, the young men's sodality 196, and the young women's 199 members. Seven other societies, including the Catholic Casino, founded February 6, 1869, were flourishing. Fr. Reiter himself, after much labor, issued a publication containing statistics concerning the German Catholics in the United States.

Fr. Reiter was ordered to Buffalo to assist in the new mission undertaken by his superior, the German provincial. The members of the congregation felt this change as a personal bereavement. On the last Sunday of his pastorate, the entire congregation assembled in the church in the afternoon and bade him farewell. The Germania Orchestra was hired for the occasion and the senior member of the church council, Anton Stöcker, gave formal utterance of the thanks and good wishes of the people. On the day of departure, July 1, 1870, the beloved priest was accompanied to the Boston and Albany Depot by many of his parishioners.

On July 25, Fr. Jacob Simeon, S.J., of Washington took up the duties of pastor. The municipal government had been at work for some time improving the "Suffolk Street District," in which the church property was situated. The level was raised ten feet. Suffolk Street was extended from (West) Castle Street north to intersect Tremont Street and was renamed Shawmut Avenue. An indemnity of \$9000 was paid for damages to the church. The city's operations completed, the congregation began, in the summer of 1871, the erection of the present Holy Trinity Church at the southeast corner of Cobb Street and Shawmut Avenue. The structure, of which Mr. Keely of Brooklyn was the architect, was to be Gothic in design and to be built of Roxbury Pudding Stone with trimmings of Maine granite. On November 10, 1872, while the Boston fire was

devastating the business section of the city, the cornerstone was laid by Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Williams. The sermon was preached by Fr. Reiter. Fr. Simeon said Mass in the basement of the new church, May 1, 1874. On May 27, 1877, the titular feast-day of the church, the edifice was dedicated by Archbishop Williams. Fr. F. H. Weninger, S.J., who, at the close of a mission in 1868, had declared that he would not again visit Boston until he was to preach at the dedication of a new church, was enabled to fulfil his promise.

In November, 1877, Father Franz X. Nopper, S. J., assistant for the ten years preceding, became pastor. A heavy burden of debt rested on the congregation, as \$110,559 of the \$150,000, the cost of the new church and priest's house, remained unpaid. Within ten years the efforts of Father Nopper reduced the debt to \$70,000. He also expended \$38,000 in the purchase of two parcels of land, one on Cobb Street adjoining the church and the other in Roxbury, where an orphanage and home for the aged was established.

The Holy Trinity parish was now old enough to celebrate anniversaries. The first celebration, October 30, 1891, was that of the golden jubilee in the Society of Jesus of Brother Caspar Menke, doorkeeper in the parochial residence since September 27, 1850. Three years later, September 2, 1894, the beloved brother died at Frederick, Maryland, at the age of 82. The year 1892 was the occasion of another celebration among the German Catholics of Boston. In that year Father Nopper, once again assistant, having been succeeded as pastor by Fr. Nicolaus Greisch, S.J., completed twenty-five years of devoted service among them. Two years later the fiftieth anniversary of the first Mass said in the old church was observed. The "*Geschichte der Deutschen-Katholischen-Hl. Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde*" (Carl H. Heintzemann, Boston), a volume of ninety-nine pages based on the brochure prepared by Father Nopper in 1886, was published for the jubilee.

Meantime Father Greisch, who had become spiritual head, January 10, 1892, and had founded the small church council of six elected laymen to assist the pastor in the management

of affairs, was followed, December 6, 1893, by Fr. Karl Gudemus, S.J., who in turn was replaced, July 12, 1896, by Fr. Johann Jutz, S.J. The latter and Fr. Ascheberg, assistant, both of whom had served in the Franco-Prussian war in the hospitals and in the field, were decorated by the German Government with bronze medals at the celebration, in 1899, of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of William I.

In September, 1900, the first number of the *Monatsbote* ("Monthly Messenger"), described as the "organ of the German Catholics of Boston and vicinity," was issued. This periodical, of which the subscription price is \$1 a year, contains vital and religious statistics of the parish, notices concerning the various societies and clubs connected with the church, together with purely literary articles. Both English and German are used in it.

In July, 1906, Fr. Edmund M. Sturm, S.J., became pastor. At his death, June 16, 1910, Fr. Joseph Faber, S.J., succeeded to his office.

Of the institutions which have grown up among the German Catholics of Boston, the school, the orphanage, the club, and the bank may be briefly mentioned.

The Holy Trinity School, organized in 1844 under the pastorate of Fr. Plathe, was probably the first parochial school successfully established in New England. Classes for boys and girls were first held in the basement of the church and in an adjoining room on the Middlesex Street side. As the number of pupils increased, various buildings in the neighborhood were used, until, in 1874, the old church was reconstructed into the present schoolhouse at a cost of \$30,000. Later, schools were opened in Roxbury, on the grounds of St. Francis' Home, and in South Boston, at Sixth and F Streets.

The records of 1846 show that a salary was paid to Mr. Schuessle, who was probably the first schoolmaster. His successors have usually combined the duties of teacher in the school and organist at the church. For many years laywomen taught some of the classes. In 1859 Fr. Reiter brought from Cincinnati the Sisters of Notre Dame, who took charge of the girls

and, later, of the smaller boys. In September, 1913, the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, who had previously conducted the classes in Roxbury only; were given entire charge of the three schools. The membership at that time was over 400 boys and girls, from six to fourteen years of age, of whom about 135 were in the South End school, 65, all young children, in the South Boston school, and over 200 in the Roxbury school.

It is needless to say that the Holy Trinity School has given its share to the ranks of the clergy and of the religious congregations. It also gave unsparingly to the cause of the Union when that cause was threatened. The class of '57 sent sixteen of its twenty-four boys to the front.

The German Catholics of Boston established St. Francis' Home, Fulda Street, Roxbury, as a place of refuge for their aged women and shelter for orphans. The land, with a wooden building, was acquired in April, 1888, and soon after a new structure, dedicated by Archbishop Williams on March 19, 1891, was added to the old. In the summer of 1913 there were in the home, including some few not dependent on charity, thirty aged women and thirty-five children, under the care of the Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis.

The men of Holy Trinity have their club, the "Katholische Casino der Deutschen in Boston," with modest but satisfactory quarters in the school building opposite the church. The club had its beginning in the efforts of Father Prässar, who, shortly after his arrival in 1868, founded a singing society and an evening school for the young men. The school failed. The singing society developed into the Casino, organized in 1869. The existence, since 1859, of the "Concordia Gesangverein" prevented the rapid progress of the Casino, until July 28, 1878, when the two societies united under the name St. Michael's Verein der Deutschen in Boston." The title "Katholische Casino" was resumed July 27, 1882.

The Germania Co-operative Bank, Kimball Building, 18 Tremont Street, owes its existence largely to the efforts of Mr. Joseph Tondorf, a leading parishioner. "The American Home,

the Safeguard of American Liberty," was adopted as its motto. It was incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts on October 3, 1885, and began business October 20 of the same year. On July 1, 1913, it had 1600 shareholders and 400 borrowers, and assets amounting to \$616,421.16. Of course, race and creed have no official place in this institution for savings.

Although the German Catholics are scattered over Boston and the suburban cities and towns, their attendance at the church is faithful. Four sodalities, comprising, approximately, 620 married women, 550 unmarried women, 350 married men, and 400 unmarried men, flourish at Holy Trinity Church.

LIST OF PASTORS AND ASSISTANTS

1. Franz S. Hoffmann, August to December, 1836.
 2. Joseph Ed. Freygang, December, 1836, to November, 1837.
 3. Bernard Smolnik, December, 1837, to May, 1838.
 4. Franz Rolof, June, 1842, to May, 1844.
 5. Gerhard Plathe, May, 1844, to October, 1845.
 6. Alexander Martini, March, 1848, to May, 1848.
- In August, 1848, the parish was given into the care of the Society of Jesus.
7. Gustav Eck, August, 1848, to August, 1854.
 ASSISTANTS: Franz Lachat, 1849 to 1850;
 Joseph Polk, 1850;
 Aloysius Janelick, 1850 to 1853;
 Norbert Steinbacher, 1853;
 Michael Tüffel, 1854.
 8. Ernst U. Reiter, August, 1854, to September, 1856.
 ASSISTANT: Georg Hellerbach, 1854 to 1856.
 9. J. B. Cattani, September, 1856, to August, 1858.
 ASSISTANTS: Franz Lachat, 1856 to 1857;
 R. J. Ditz, 1858.
 10. Norbert Steinbacher, August, 1858, to January, 1859.
 11. Ernst U. Reiter, January, 1859, to July, 1870.
 ASSISTANTS: Aloysius Janelick, 1860;
 Franz Lachat, 1860 and 1861;
 Franz X. Denecker, 1863;

- Joh. B. Maurer, 1863 and 1864;
 Peter Mans, 1864 and 1865;
 Michael Tüffel, 1865 and 1866;
 Simon Dompieri, 1867
 Franz Xaver Nopper, 1867.
12. Jacob Simeon, July, 1870, to November, 1877.
 ASSISTANTS: Franz X. Nopper, 1870 to 1877;
 Ignatz Bellwalder, 1868 to 1871;
 Hugo Prässa, 1868 to 1871.
13. Franz X. Nopper, November, 1877, to January, 1892.
 ASSISTANTS: Carl Heichmer, 1877 and 1878;
 Ignatz Bellwalder, 1878 to 1883;
 John Jansen, 1881 to 1885;
 Joseph Krieg, 1883 to 1892;
 Andreas Rapp, 1885 to 1886;
 Ignatz Bellwalder, 1885 to 1888;
 Peter Schleuter, October, 1886, to January, 1892;
 Carl Richard, 1891 to 1892.
14. Nicolaus Greisch, January, 1892, to December, 1893.
 ASSISTANTS: Franz X. Nopper;
 John Jansen.
15. Carl Gudenus, December, 1893, to July 12, 1896.
 ASSISTANTS: Franz X. Nopper, to June, 1894;
 Joseph Krieg, 1894;
 Alex. Ascheberg, 1894;
 John Jansen, to July, 1894.
16. Johann Jutz, July 12, 1896, to July, 1906.
 ASSISTANTS: Joseph Krieg, died November, 1898.
 Alex. Ascheberg, to 1901.
 Peter Schleuter, December, 1898.
17. Edmund M. Sturm, July, 1906, till his death, June 16, 1910.
 ASSISTANTS: Peter Schleuter;
 Joseph Offergeld, 1907 and 1908;
 Joseph Faber, August, 1908;

Franz Marchl, 1908;

Heinrich J. Nelles, August, 1909.

18. Joseph Faber, June, 1910.

ASSISTANTS: Peter Schleuter;

Heinrich J. Nelles;

Franz Marchl, August, 1910, to August,
1912.

John B. Schmandt, August, 1912.

In the preparation of this article the writer has drawn freely from the "Geschichte der Deutschen-Katholischen Hl. Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde" and from the numbers of the "Monatsbote." He is indebted to several members of the congregation for information willingly given. In particular, he wishes to express his appreciation for the assistance rendered by the Reverend Father Schleuter.



ST. JOSEPH'S CREIGHTON MEMORIAL HOSPITAL.



DEPARTMENT OF ARTS, CREIGHTON UNIVERSITY.

A CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY AND ITS FOUNDERS

BY REV. MICHAEL J. O'CONNOR, S.J.

I AM minded to sketch for you to-night the story of Catholic progress in one of our Middle Western States. The incidents of that story naturally center about the development of Nebraska during the past fifty-six years, since it was in 1856 that St. Mary's, the first Catholic church in Omaha, was built, near what is to-day the freight depot of the Burlington, one of the great transcontinental railway systems to whose building that development is so much indebted.

Long before that year, however, Catholics had made history in the region now included within the boundaries of the State. In a paper read before the Nebraska State Historical Society, April 16, 1880, Judge Savage of Omaha presents in detail his reasons—supported by historical documentary evidence—for believing that “four-score years before the Pilgrims landed on the shores of Massachusetts; sixty-eight years before Hudson discovered the ancient and beautiful river which still bears his name; sixty-six years before John Smith, with his cockney colonists, sailed up a stream which they named after James the First of England, and commenced the settlement of what was afterward to be Virginia; twenty-three years before Shakespeare was born, when Queen Elizabeth was a little girl, Nebraska was discovered, the peculiarities of her soil and climate noted, her fruits and productions described, and her inhabitants and animals depicted by Coronado,” the Catholic explorer.

There is hardly any expedition of modern times around which clings so much of the glamor of romantic mystery as that undertaken about the middle of the sixteenth century by this Spanish cavalier. Not much is known regarding him. That Coronado was born in the City of Salamanca, that in early manhood he crossed the ocean to Mexico in quest of adventure, that early in spring, 1540, he organized an expedition for the

purpose of exploring the vast extent of territory in the north, and that he marched from the City of Mexico to the valley of the Platte in Nebraska—this is all we have of certain knowledge. “The first description of the bison and the prairie plains, the first trustworthy account of the Zuñi pueblos, the discovery of the Grand Canyon, a vast increase of the nominal dominion of Spain and Christianity, and a notable addition to geographical knowledge, which, however, was long forgotten, were the results of this expedition; which is, besides, for its duration and the vast distance covered, over mountains, deserts, and plains, one of the most remarkable expeditions in the history of American discovery” (Encyc. Brit. Article: Coronado).

An old map, found some years ago in the archives of St. Mary's College in Montreal, which was drawn by Father Marquette in 1673, so links that intrepid Jesuit's name with the Nebraska region that, had we not the word of Marquette himself to the contrary, it would not be difficult to believe him to have visited the country in person. The map gives with remarkable accuracy the outlines of the territory which now forms the State of Nebraska. “The general course of the Missouri is given to a point far north of the latitude of Omaha; the Platte River is laid down in almost its exact position, and among the Indian tribes which he enumerates as scattered about this region we find such names as Panas, Mahas, Otonantes, which it is not difficult to translate into Pawnees, Omahas, and perhaps Otoes. It is not without a thrill of interest that a Nebraskan can look upon the frail and discolored parchment upon which, for the first time in the history of the world, these words were written” by a Catholic missionary (Savage).

Intimately associated also with the early history of the Missouri River country is the name of Father De Smet. In May, 1838, Jesuit missionaries from St. Louis, under his leadership, established a mission amongst the Pottawattamies of Council Bluffs, just across the river from what is now Omaha. In that year the U. S. Government assigned to these Indians a large reservation in the neighborhood and the noted Apostle of the Red Man had been sent to introduce among them the beneficent

and civilizing influence of Christian living. In Father De Smet's day the Nebraska country, the land across the Missouri, was almost unknown to white men. What a picture the words suggest of the kaleidoscopic changes wrought within three-quarters of a century! Omaha was a deer track. The Cheyennes, the Omahas, and a few voyageurs from St. Louis, in their barbaric bullion-trimmed hats and their picturesque buckskins, were the sole inhabitants. A recent writer, a Protestant, sketches with reverent pen the beautiful lives led by the missionaries, these pioneer priests of the West, shining like a bright light out of the dark chapters of those early days. "Different from the rest," he says, "a restraint and an inspiration, were Father De Smet and his associates. Father De Smet, in spite of sacrifice and privation, was distinguished for his joviality. Fear he was not acquainted with, whether danger confronted him in the form of smallpox, Indians, or starvation. Enmity he did not know. He hated sin, but not a sinner of the wild camp was too ignoble for him to love. As friend, as pioneer, as physician, as teacher, as priest, he was loved; for in him lay the spirit of those fine old Jesuits who made Montreal and Quebec, who passed the straits of the Great Lakes, who founded Chicago and Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and built on the sacred rock of St. Louis."

The promising mission founded by De Smet began to flag with the gradual dispersion and removal of the Pottawattamies. In 1847 the last of the tribe were transferred to a Kansas reservation and the streams of immigration that, early in the 'fifties, surged westward from the States poured into the lands beyond the Missouri. Villages on paper sprang up everywhere and town sites were staked at every river ford. The Indians had not relinquished their title to the lands upon which Omaha now stands before corner lots were mapped above the graves of their sires. The first claim was made in 1853, but scarce a year had passed before the Indian title was extinguished and Nebraska organized as a territory.

The editor of the *Arrow*, the first paper printed in Omaha, in its salutatory describes, in style as breezy as his own western

country in those days, the attractive charm of the new country thus opened to the whites: "An elevated tableland surrounds us; the majestic Missouri, just off on our left, goes sweeping its muddy course adown toward the Mexican Gulf, whilst the background of the pleasing picture is filled up with Iowa's loveliest scenery. Away upon our right, spreading far in the distance, lies one of the most attractive sections of Nebraska. Yon rich, rolling, widespread, and beautiful prairie, dotted with timber, looks lovely enough just now, as heaven's free sunlight touches off in beauty the lights and shades, to be literally entitled the Edenland of the World." No wonder the pioneers dreamed wondrous dreams of the day to be. No wonder, realizing the natural advantages of the territory they were opening up, they easily forecasted the prosperity soon to be theirs. Even in that early day Omaha was the Gate City of the West. The Pike's Peak stampede, you will remember, began in May of 1859, and with the increasing Mormon, California, and Oregon immigration which outfitted there, the military posts, the Pawnee and Omaha Indians, and immense ranches starting up along the Platte River, Omaha was a booming town.

No wonder the dreams of the pioneers grew more and more exuberant. Already they heard the busy hum of factories sure to be established to provide the industrial needs of this new land; they heard the incessant rattle of innumerable drays over the paved streets; the steady tramp of ten thousand of an animated, enterprising population; the hoarse orders fast issued from the steamers upon the levee, loaded with the rich agricultural products of the State of Nebraska and unloading the fruits and products of other climes that were to pour into the new markets. Already from far away toward the setting sun came telegraphic despatches of improvements, progress, and moral advancement upon the Pacific Coast, and cars full freighted with teas and silks were arriving thence and passing across the stationary channel of the Missouri River with lightning speed hurrying on to the Atlantic seaboard.

And, in a measure, the dreams came true. The fifty-eight years that have passed since Nebraska became an organized

territory of the United States even in the concentrated living of our country measure but a brief span—yet how much has been accomplished in their passing! Great transcontinental railroads have been built; the telegraph has spanned the country from coast to coast; the sparsely peopled Missouri River country has come to be a well-populated State, while the Gate City, whose citizens were easily counted in the hundreds, has grown to be an important and beautiful metropolis of over 125,000 inhabitants.

Meantime, we may be sure, the Catholic Church had not been slow to note the needs and the possibilities of the Nebraska territory. Keen of purpose to carry the Gospel message to the Indians formerly roaming its prairies, her missionaries had been among the first to cross the Missouri; now, closely following the hurrying trains of immigrants that swept westward from the States, came others of her ministers to mitigate by their zeal the hardships of border life. The first mission to be founded in the territory was that of St. John, in what is now the town of Jackson, in Dakota County. Here a church was built and a congregation, numbering eleven, gathered to worship in it in June, 1855. The first Omaha mission was organized a month later, and its church, St. Mary's, demolished in 1882 to make way for railroad extensions, was begun in the spring of 1856. The first bishop to exercise jurisdiction in the Nebraska territory was a Jesuit, the Right Rev. John Baptist Miede of Leavenworth, Kansas. His had been, indeed, an apostle's field, since upon his consecration he was named vicar-apostolic of all that vast region north of the Indian territory and west from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. As early as 1858 Bishop Miede decided that the northern part of this district should be an independent jurisdiction, and at the provincial synod held in St. Louis in that year he secured the appointment of a vicar-apostolic for Nebraska.

An Irish Trappist, the Right Rev. James O'Gorman, born in Tipperary in 1804, who had entered the famous monastery of Mt. Melleray, Ireland, in 1838, was professed on March 25,

1841, and ordained a priest in 1843, was chosen to preside over the vicariate thus established. Following his consecration as titular bishop, by Archbishop Kenrick, in St. Louis, May 8, 1859, the new vicar-apostolic found himself early in 1860 in charge of a territory containing 357,265 square miles; four priests—two members of the secular clergy, one Benedictine, and one Jesuit—made up the total of his ecclesiastical workers; and there was within the limits of his jurisdiction a Catholic population of 5000, including the Catholic Indians. A document preserved in the early records of Omaha illustrates the liberal spirit with which the pioneers—non-Catholic no less than Catholic—were eager to welcome Bishop O’Gorman among them—a spirit, be it said, notably free from the bigotry that characterized many of their descendants in the A. P. A. ferment during the closing decade of last century. When early in 1858 it became known that a bishop would be sent to Omaha, the following interesting report was made to the City Council by a committee appointed to consider that event:

“In view of the great importance of the location of the Roman Catholic See at this point, the measure of which we can best appreciate by reference to Dubuque, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and numerous other places, your Committee feel assured that what at first sight would appear to be great liberality, would be justified by the result. In Dubuque alone, the expenditures of the Church have already reached something more than half a million dollars, resulting in improvements of such a character as to minister to the pride and gratification of her citizens. The schools established under the auspices of the Church have given her an educational celebrity, bringing scholars from all parts of the State, as well as from Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois. Of her ten thousand Catholic citizens, known for their wealth, sobriety, and industry, it cannot be doubted that a large portion has been attracted by the same influences which your Committee are anxious to add to those that have already made Omaha the metropolis of Nebraska; which influences will follow the settlement of the Bishop at this place.

“Your Committee beg leave to suggest that it is only by combining all the influences in our power that we can hope to make Omaha a great center of population; that the two elements, capital and labor, must be induced by every possible motive to join hands for our advantage. Your Committee is satisfied that immigration and capital will at once follow the announcement by the Bishop of his determination to settle here; and believing that the city will be repaid tenfold for its liberality, they recom-

mend that the city deed to the Bishop forty-two lots." (Savage, "Hist. of Omaha.")

Reminiscences of those who helped make the story of those days tell us that the panic of '57 had swept over the enterprising town with the fury of a whirlwind, and left but few evidences of what had augured most favorably. The bishop beheld the desolation, and before determining to remain and make Omaha his see, considered whether he might not do more good by locating elsewhere. He was not in search of pecuniary advantages, and he declined to receive the proffered land, even though he should be permitted to return it, in case of his subsequent determination to locate elsewhere. In 1859 and 1860 the old-time prosperity of Omaha returned; it became a center, the proper seat of a vicariate, and Bishop O'Gorman concluded to stay.

It is not my intention to make this paper a summary of the annals of the Catholic Church within the jurisdiction thus formally created in Nebraska. Time would scarcely allow a retrospect doing fitting justice to the details of the story, and historical accuracy and fairness forbid me to fashion a sketch that must lack the adorning touch of such details. But I may be permitted to quote here the thoughts that came to me a few weeks ago on reading the press despatch announcing that Archbishop Keane of Dubuque had received official notification from Rome that a new diocese, that of Kearney, had been erected in Nebraska. Catholics in the East may be pardoned if they show slow appreciation of what the tidings means to their co-religionists beyond the Missouri. The growth of the Church in these parts since Archbishop Carroll assumed pastoral charge of the scattered Catholic colonies along the Atlantic Coast a century and a quarter ago has ever been such that the one-time enthusiasm which waxed eloquent over the leaps and bounds that marked its onward progress has cooled into something very like a matter-of-course acceptance of its marvels.

Catholics of the East realize how mightily favored the rapid spread of Catholicism among us has been by the unceasing tide of immigration that poured into the cities of the East during

the century. In a certain easily understood sense it was not a difficult task to develop schools and churches and parishes and dioceses when the thousands and tens of thousands of the sturdy Catholic Irish and Germans borne on the crest of the tide of that original immigration came among us to settle and to found their homes in this section. The numbers were at hand—given a zealous and hard-working priesthood, the task of molding the newcomers into the well-organized communities, now our pride, was accomplished practically of itself.

The tale, however, runs quite otherwise in the annals that tell of the building of the Church across the smooth, unbroken tablelands stretching between the Mississippi and the Rockies. Cities did not grow up in a night in that region; and though immigration played its valiant part in the march of civilization to open up the land, there were trials undreamed of in the settlement of the East, and disappointments and failures in abundance to be chronicled before the too often unappreciated class known as pioneers or squatters saw the glimmering camp fires of the prairies give up to the throbbing life now pulsing in haunts once theirs.

Catholic growth in the Middle West has had its triumphs, but the few records we possess show them to have been interwoven with a patient enduring of hardships and privations on the part of the apostolic men who planted and watered those extensive fields such as the men and women to-day enjoying the increase can hardly comprehend. Unhappily for history, the self-effacing spirit of the toilers in those earlier days did not lend itself to the chronicling of the heroism they displayed; we of the present era can often only fancy what they must have borne in order to reap the splendid results that served as enduring foundation for the solid and regular development of the Church throughout the widespread country.

Fifty-five years measure but a brief span—yet how much has been achieved during their passing! To dwell but a moment on a thought that flashes into mind as one hears the announcement of Nebraska's new diocese. On his arrival, in 1857, in his residential city, Bishop O'Gorman, the first vicar-

apostolic appointed to Omaha, found four priests and two churches in the vast territory included within the limits of his vicariate. The picture the words call up amazes one. In all the lands now embraced in the great States of Nebraska and Wyoming and Montana and South Dakota, west of the Missouri River, this was the poor provision the Trappist monk, called upon to rule God's Church and form His people to ways of righteousness, found ready at hand to aid him. From that same territory, within the fifty-five years since his coming, six new dioceses have been formed: Helena, Montana, welcomed its first bishop in 1884; the year 1887 brought Lincoln, Nebraska, and Cheyenne, Wyoming, a like honor and blessing; Lead, in South Dakota, was the next new see, being created a bishopric in 1902; Great Falls, Montana, followed in 1904, and finally comes Kearney, Nebraska, just named an episcopal city and already preparing to receive with glad acclaim the worthy priest God's providence may elect to rule its Catholic people. In the seven dioceses carved out of Bishop O'Gorman's original vicariate there are to-day 420 priests, 532 churches, and a Catholic population of about 250,000. To be sure, compared with some of the dioceses of the East, the Catholic population in these mid-west dioceses may seem small. It will take time for them to develop, to be equipped with the institutions and cathedrals that go with dioceses in older sections. But these will come in time. When a beginning must be made sooner or later, the sooner the better, as a rule. The establishment of new centers of religious activity will prove a great stimulus to further growth. A growth, we venture to predict, which will be like unto that of the half-century just elapsed—not phenomenal, but solid and regular.

The diocese of Omaha has first right to feel the thrill of legitimate pride this onward progress properly begets. She is the mother church in all the vast region between the Missouri and the Rockies, and her mother love has given worthy example to the daughters grouping about her as the years advanced. Few episcopal sees in the country, if one excepts the oldest and most prosperous in the land, are better equipped than she

to do the work the Catholic Church is meant to do among men. A strong and devoted clergy, guided and inspired by a cultured bishop of recognized executive ability; a Catholic population generous in the response to duty's call in the building of churches and schools; a magnificent cathedral now approaching completion; a model chain of hospitals and charitable institutions; a Catholic school system, in which ample provision is assured for parochial and secondary education, and which is crowned by a university of acknowledged high rank, endowed through the munificence of two of her own pioneer sons—these are some of Omaha's claims to present credit and to probable greater eminence in the future growth of Catholicism in the region across the Missouri.

One of these claims even the limits of an evening's paper should not forbid me to discuss with greater amplitude, since no one who sketches the progress of the Catholic Church in the trans-Missouri country can do so without encountering at every turn the name of the Creighton brothers, Edward and John, who have written their names conspicuously in the annals of benevolence in Nebraska. Many who have heard described the work of their beneficence have asked for some information about these two, the atmosphere in which they grew up, the influences which fostered their charitable spirit. A master's eulogy would be needed fully to satisfy this request; let me, instead, tell you briefly the story of Creighton University, the pride of Nebraska Catholics and the enduring monument of these two Catholic pioneers. It will serve as partial answer to such inquiries.

On taking charge of his vicariate in September, 1876, the Right Rev. James O'Connor, D.D., the second vicar-apostolic and the first bishop of Omaha, to whose personal influence and master hand the development of Catholic life in Omaha was singularly indebted, made Catholic education in the new country the object of his most urgent care. Providence proved kind to him in a measure rarely falling to the lot of a pioneer churchman. Three years before Bishop O'Connor's arrival in Omaha, Edward Creighton, a native of Ohio, who had in early man-



COUNT JOHN A. CREIGHTON.



EDWARD CREIGHTON.

hood joined the hurrying multitude seeking a fortune in the western country, and who by the natural force of a strong and vigorous character had pressed his way from an humble origin to a place among the first, was called away by a sudden and unexpected death. He had proposed in life to found a free institution of learning, but he died intestate, November 5, 1874, before making provision for the fulfillment of his project. His wife, Mrs. Mary Lucretia Creighton, inheriting both his ample fortune and his noble purposes, determined to carry out her husband's wish, but did not live to behold its realization. Her death occurred on January 23, 1876. In her last will and testament, dated September 23, 1875, she made, among other bequests, the following:

"I will and bequeath unto my said executors the further sum of one hundred thousand dollars . . . to purchase the site for a school in the city of Omaha, and erect proper buildings thereon for a school of the class and grade of a college, expending in the purchase of said site and in the building of said buildings in and about the same, not to exceed one-half of said sum, and to invest the remainder in securities, the interest of which shall be applied to the support and maintenance of the school; and the principal shall be kept forever inviolate. When said buildings shall be ready for occupancy for such school, the said executors shall convey all of said property, including said site, buildings, and securities, to the Rt. Rev'd Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church having jurisdiction in Omaha and his successors in office upon trusts to be aptly expressed in the deed of conveyance securing said property to the purpose aforesaid. The said school shall be known as the Creighton College, and is designed by me as a memorial of my late husband. I have selected this mode of testifying to his virtues and my affection to his memory, because such a work was one which he, in his lifetime, proposed to himself."

Acting on this bequest, Mrs. Creighton's executors purchased the present site, and proceeded to erect what is now called the main building of the Arts Department of Creighton University. The entire property and securities were duly conveyed to Bishop O'Connor, July 1, 1878. On February 27, 1879, the legislature of Nebraska passed an act to provide for the incorporation of universities under certain conditions, and in pursuance of this act Bishop O'Connor, on July 26, 1879, informed the District Court that "he holds certain lands conveyed to him by the executors for the purpose of carrying out the intentions

of Mrs. Creighton, that a building has been erected on these grounds, that he holds funds for the endowment of the school, that for the past year he has caused to be maintained an institution under the name of Creighton College, that he desires to vest the lands, securities, and property in a corporation known as a University, with divers departments, of which Creighton College shall be one, and he asks that a commissioner be appointed to examine and report." The commissioner having presented a satisfactory report, the bishop turned over his trust to a corporation called Creighton University, and appointed five members of the Society of Jesus as the board of trustees. The Creighton University, meeting all the requirements of the act of February 27, 1879, was then incorporated, August 14, 1879.

We of the East and of to-day are apt to smile as we hear the story rehearsed. One hundred thousand dollars is but a pitiful sum wherewith to build and endow a free college that is to expand into a university. But the one hundred thousand dollars was but the initial instalment of the munificent benefactions to be poured in during later years to bring the purpose of the first founders to a singularly complete consummation. Loyal to his brother's memory and intensely interested in the school that brother's wife had caused to be established in order to perpetuate Edward Creighton's name, John Creighton, honored by Leo XIII with the title of Roman Count because of his splendid spendings in Catholic charities, used the millions he, too, had amassed in the pioneer Nebraska days to perfect the design of which that school was but the preliminary detail. Scarcely a year passed in which John Creighton failed to manifest his deep and sincere and affectionate interest in the progress of the school by large benefactions, until, at his death in 1907, the last and greatest of his princely donations conveyed to the Jesuits entrusted with the charge of Creighton University practically one-third of his immense estate, making the whole endowment that has been building in all these years more than three millions and a half. I said that Omaha had first right to feel the thrill of legitimate pride the solid and regular growth of the Church in the West begets. Surely we who

realize the importance of Catholic educational training in the Church's life will concede that a fair justification of that claim exists in the history of Creighton's development.

From a humble beginning as a mere grammar school, Creighton has grown, these thirty-four years, into a splendid university, maintaining, besides its free preparatory academy with its four-year high school course, and its free College of Arts with a four-year course, colleges of law, medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy, with a total enrollment of more than a thousand students, and eleven hundred and ninety-two graduates. And its progress is really just beginning, for it has been busy these many years completing its internal organization, perfecting its courses, and fitting its graduates for that success which is the test of training.

No doubt, ladies and gentlemen, you would wish me to include in my paper a sketch of the personality of the two sterling Catholic men whose loyal and practical faith made all this possible and whose example, I might add, is signally worthy of imitation in the needs the Church knows to-day. And I would gladly satisfy that wish were it not that the unaffected modesty and reserve which ever characterized the two brothers has made the task a really difficult one. Edward and John Creighton were anxious always to avoid publicity. They regarded themselves as plain, everyday people, with no special claims to distinction; for fortune, happily, did not rob them of a charming simplicity of manners. They were exemplars of the old-fashioned Western democracy, which gauges men by their character and work, rather than by the extent of their possessions.

Edward and John Creighton, we know, were two of the nine children with which God blessed the union of James Creighton, a native of County Monaghan, Ireland, who came to America in 1805, and of Bridget Hughes, a native of County Armagh, Ireland, whom James Creighton married in St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, in 1811. The couple moved to Ohio in 1813, poor in everything save their sturdy Catholic faith, and there toiled arduously for the support of the large family growing up about them. They had not the means to

give their children an education in a sense in which the word is now received, for education in those days was at a premium; but they early imbued them with solid principles of justice, and taught them lessons of practical value—the necessity of caring for themselves, the necessity of earnestness in life's battle, and the worth of self-reliance and determination. Living in the midst of people who despised his race and hated his religion, while the head of the family asked no favors, he would suffer no insults; and when injustice was done to him or his, he demanded, and tradition tells us usually obtained, ample satisfaction. The lives of his children are the best testimony to the example and teachings of this strong-minded pioneer.

Edward was born in Belmont County, Ohio, on the 31st day of August, 1820, and enjoyed only those meager educational advantages which the district school provided, and its sessions were short and its curriculum embraced only the most elementary branches. Young Creighton was gifted with a bright and vigorous mind; quickly, therefore, he learned all that the schoolmaster could teach; and clearly, too, he saw how deficient was his own store of knowledge, but, with characteristic determination, set about acquiring, by individual effort and by private reading, that education which, supplemented by the lessons learned in the hard school of experience, made him a successful man.

In his eighteenth year he was presented by his father with a team of horses and a wagon, and with this patrimony he set forth to make his own way in the world. It was the period just before the inauguration of the large railway and steamboat lines; and the stream of commerce between the various inland cities flowed along the pikes. Men who engaged in the industry of carrying goods from one place to another were called "waggoners." Strong, brave men they were, and inured to hardship. Edward, a boy in years, but endowed with the strength and character of a man, engaged in this business until, amassing a little capital, he was enabled to engage in the works of public improvement at that time in progress in the various cities and on the country roads in Ohio. Thenceforward his career is

told in a few words. Lured by the glowing reports of opportunities open in the new West to men not afraid to toil, the future founder of Omaha's Catholic university determined to join the pioneers and to seek there his fortune. In his search he turned his hand to any and every honorable chance that came to him. Field-work with engineers, road-building, railway construction work, the building of telegraph lines through the new country—all in turn aided him to garner that experience in dealing with men which was to stand him in such valuable stead when the supreme opportunity came to him. In 1860, as you will recall, there was conceived the vast project of a great overland telegraph line, which should connect the two oceans. Edward Creighton had by this time won a well-deserved reputation for success in telegraph construction work, and he was invited to make the journey from Salt Lake, Utah, where he happened to be, to the Pacific Coast, to investigate the feasibility of the proposed route and to report to Jephtha Wade of Cleveland, Ohio, who was planning the arduous enterprise.

It was mid-winter in the year 1860; the invitation extended by Wade to Mr. Creighton had none of the attractions which an excursion to California in that season now offers. Nevertheless, the latter set out, and after some twelve days arrived in Carson City, Nevada. The hardships of the journey beggar description. One can form a conception of its heroic character when one considers some of its features. It was a journey of about six hundred miles, made in great part by a solitary horseman, little acquainted with the route. It was made through the valley of the Humboldt and over the Sierra Mountains. The journey was accomplished at a time when winds drove sand and alkali dust and snow into the eyes and ears of the lone traveler. Three times the skin peeled from Mr. Creighton's face; and when he arrived in Carson City, more dead than alive, he was snow-blind. The marvel is that he did not perish. But his constitution was healthy, his frame rugged and robust; above all, his iron will was strong in its purpose. Hence it was that he survived the ordeal, and was able, after a short delay, to proceed to San Francisco.

His report satisfied the promoters of the enterprise, and the work, national in character, was fittingly commenced on the 4th day of July, 1861, and on October 17 of that year Mr. Creighton himself united the wires completing the eastern section, and was able, from Salt Lake City, to communicate to his wife, in Omaha, the good news that the circuit between Omaha and that city was open: "This being the first message over the new line since its completion to Salt Lake," he wired, "permit me to greet you. In a few days two oceans will be united."

Just a week later the line from California was brought into Salt Lake City, and the overland telegraph, which few men had considered a possibility, now became a reality. With this success Edward Creighton's fortune was achieved, and as general superintendent of the Pacific Telegraph Company, as prosperous ranchman and stockraiser, as successful banker and financier, his days were spent happily, until God called him home on November 5, 1874.

I need hardly add—my outline sketch will have of itself suggested the thought—Edward Creighton was a remarkable man. A Jesuit contemporary who knew him well has left us this appreciation of him: "In stature he was above medium height, and of square, symmetrical build. He was distinguished for his broad and full expressive face. Men who were acquainted with him never tire of speaking of his natural goodness of heart, of his sense of justice, and of his remarkable powers in dealing with men of various characters, opinions, and conditions. The intense religiosity of the man and the sweet influence of a refined, devoted, and affectionate wife gave him marked moderation and self-control. His private life was spotless. He was esteemed for his exceeding charity. Even before he had acquired a fortune, he was accustomed every morning to put in his purse a bundle of small bills, which he would distribute during the day to the poor in the city. Genial he was and social, full of good humor, with a smile for his friends that was a sort of benediction."

Count John A. Creighton I can picture to you from personal knowledge. Every one in the West recalls his tall, well-



ONE OF THE INDIAN CHIEFS AT SAN BLAS, PANAMA.



INDIAN FAMILY, DARIEN, PANAMA.

proportioned figure, his handsome face, his silver hair and beard. Despite the rough life of his early years, time laid a gentle hand upon him. I remember well how he gathered his friends about him on his seventy-fifth birthday to witness the act of grateful thanks he that day rendered his Maker for the filled-up measure of good things God had given him through those years. His step was elastic, his powerful frame erect, his voice clear and strong as he presented to the president of Creighton University the deeds of property and buildings valued at \$350,000. His hearty laugh had a merry ring whenever a friend regaled him with an interesting story—he himself was a clever raconteur. Like his big-hearted brother, he was deeply religious, charitable to the poor and needy almost to a fault, and always a sturdy and loyal son of the Catholic Church. Count Creighton was the youngest son of the Ohio pioneer, born in Licking County, in that State, on the 15th of October, 1831. His early education was received in the district school, but after the death of his father it was arranged by his mother and his brother Edward, who was likewise his guardian, that his portion of the little inheritance left by the father, the sum of \$600, should be spent in defraying his expenses at some institution of higher learning. Accordingly, in 1852, he left home for Somerset, Perry County, Ohio, to enter St. Joseph's College, which the Dominican Fathers had a short time before established. It was young Creighton's ambition to become a civil engineer, and he devoted much of his time and attention to mathematics. But in 1854, in which year his mother died, he left college, never to resume his studies. In that year he joined his brother, and thenceforth his fortune was linked with that of Edward, and their union ever savored less of the fraternal than of that holier relation which exists between father and son. Inheriting, upon the death of his brother's widow most of the great fortune amassed by that brother, and having through his own business acumen accumulated an estate of his own quite as great, he began in the 'eighties the series of princely spendings in Catholic educational and charitable works which continued to his death, February

7, 1907, and which won for him the honor and loving regard of every citizen of Omaha.

May I add one word before closing this paper—the inevitable moral that springs naturally to the lips of the priest no matter what the topic of his utterance? What an example such lives as theirs suggest! The Creighton brothers were not blessed with collegiate training. What credit it is that, deprived of higher education themselves, and immersed, as they were, in gigantic commercial undertakings which might well have absorbed all their powers, they found time, inclination, and energy for the establishment of a university in which the college should be free, and the professional schools open to all at a moderate expense. The more credit, too, because neither of these generous men was actuated by the vainglory which so often taints so-called philanthropy; neither reckoned his gifts as a means of perpetuating his name—both gave from sheer love of giving, and found sufficient satisfaction in discharging the duty which they felt they owed as trustees of vast fortunes. But, from a purely selfish standpoint, they acted with uncommon wisdom; for though Edward Creighton died before the realization of his oft-expressed wish for the establishment of a free college, his noble brother was long spared to witness the university's development and to glory in the fruition of his brother's and his own hopes.

Even had they been actuated by merely selfish motives, their contributions to the cause of education would have insured the permanence of their memory; but animated, as they were, by the best of motives, seeking no reward in the applause of their fellow-men, they occupy an eminence as unique as it is lofty; and secure in the grateful remembrance of the countless throngs of students who in the years to come will flock to the university for enlightenment and guidance, the founders of Omaha's Catholic university have made succeeding generations in very truth their debtors in sum exceeding great.

THE SAN BLAS INDIANS

BY REV. HENRY C. POUGET

STRANGE as it may seem, the San Blas Indians, although living a short distance away from Colon, considered in the light of modern traveling, are hardly known to the people here except through their features, their prominent cheek bones, their flattened noses, their coppery tint of skin, their sailor-like fashion of walking, and the ludicrously small derby hat, worn at a rakish angle, that they affect whilst in town.

"Matchie," in their language, means boy, and they hail each other by that word, hence the name given them of Matchie Indians.

There are stories and tales galore circulated about their ways and customs, but one and all must be taken with a grain of salt and looked upon more as legends than true historical facts.

The San Blas Indians thoroughly believe that their forefathers lived in their country as they themselves are doing to-day. Whether they think that there was a special creation in their favor or whether they simply imagine that they grew, I cannot tell. I tried to engage a few of them in conversation on the subject, and all I got was a very emphatic "Humph." I am not proficient enough in languages to interpret this monosyllable into a clear answer.

They do not seem to have any recollection of any missionary attempt having been made to convert them except within the last few years. They are settled from the $8^{\circ} 40'$ to the 9° north of the Equator and from the $78^{\circ} 40'$ to about the 79° of latitude, or, following the shore line of the Isthmus of Panama, between Punta de San Blas and Cape Tiburon. They occupy the shore of the mainland and several islets so small that the most complete map shows them as mere specks dotting the immensity of the ocean. Although geographically belonging to the territory of the Republic of Panama, they still retain

their autonomy and are just as likely to raise the Colombian as the Panamanian flag whenever they feel like unfurling one to the breezes of the Caribbean Sea.

According to Rev. Benito Pérez, S.J., who up to a short time ago was in charge of the mission established there by Rev. Fr. Gasso, another Jesuit priest, at the request and through the efforts of the late Bishop of Panama, Right Rev. Javier Junguito, S.J., the San Blas Indians are between 18,000 and 23,000 in number.

When in town many of them speak either some kind of Spanish or English, and some either or both, in a very creditable fashion; but among themselves they use entirely an Indian dialect that philologically belongs to the "Karibe Kuna." They doubtlessly belong to the family of the Caribbees, and are a rather composite mixture of Indian races. There is also among them a certain number of "albinos," which fact might tend to prove that, in spite of their often repeated boast that no San Blas woman ever gave birth to a bastard nor any San Blas Indian ever fathered a mongrel, they at some time or other mixed with the Scotch or Dutch pirates who infested these coasts in the early days.

Like all Indian tribes, they are lazy, suspicious, shy, slow of understanding, ungrateful, and fond of strong drinks. One day, trying to pick up a few words of the San Blas dialect from two boys who used to be employed around the Cristobal College as servants, I asked them how to say "thank you" in their language. They answered me by a word they had given me a few minutes before as meaning "enough," and when I insisted on finding out how they expressed in words their gratitude for any favor received the brighter of the two answered me: "We say nothin'."

There are rich forests of valuable wood near their islands, but they neither exploit them nor do they allow any one else to do so. Should the issue ever come to the test of arms, it is more than likely that, with their modern rifles, their virgin forests, their skill in managing their light cayucos, and the well-known craft of the Indian, they would prove a formidable



MACHIE INDIANS OF THE SAN BLAS COAST, PANAMA.

enemy to the Panamanian Government, unsupported as it is by any kind of an army or navy.

It is a common sight in Colon to see one, two, or even a small fleet of Indian cayucos loaded down to pretty near the water's edge with cocoa and ivory nuts, scrap rubber, and sea-turtles. The Indians have braved the fierce squalls of the Caribbean Sea and come down in their frail crafts to barter these goods against some necessities of life or some luxuries (in their eyes), and to that extent they condescend to mingle with people not of their race, although the men only come so far. It is related that in the memory of man only one San Blas woman ever left her home to travel *abroad*, and went as far as Panama.

The merchant sloops that sail up the San Blas coast in search of such products as can be found on the islands are allowed to land on their shores, and the Indians willingly exchange the resources of their country for arms, ammunition, trinkets, and bright-colored stuffs, but here stops the hospitality of the red man, and Mr. Merchantman is invited before sundown, not to put up his tent on dry land, but to seek repose on the billowy sea among the comforts his bark may afford. If we except the five or six missionaries who worked among them, as we will see later, no man, be he white or black, has ever been known to be made welcome as a settler among the San Blas Indians.

Several of them have traveled in far-away seas on board English and American ships, and, according to Mr. Pithier of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C., one has to be careful about his geographical information when among them, as he found out to his sorrow. This gentleman, whilst on a botanical excursion, aware of their unexplained dislike for the Americans, and, on the contrary, of their no less strange inclination toward the English, thought well to use the name of his native country instead of his right to American citizenship, in order to ingratiate himself with the chiefs of the island he was visiting, and so he stated that he was born in Switzerland, a country bordering upon England, when, what was his astonishment, to hear one of the Indians lifting up his voice and, in plain

English, setting him right about the proper boundaries of his native land.

It is said, nevertheless, that when the Indians return from their trips in far-away countries they are more set in keeping up their wild customs and their remarkable aloofness from any one not of their race than ever before.

Each village or small island has its cacique, or chief, who does not, under any circumstances, acknowledge allegiance to the Government of Panama, but guards zealously his independence and that of his people.

Outside of fishing and the wanderlust that drives the young to follow the sea for a time on steamer or sailboat, their industry stops at making their own hammocks and building the large huts they call home.

They live almost exclusively on fish, cocoanuts, and the plantains that grow so plentifully in these tropical climates and which they use as bread after roasting them.

They have idols, or "ukurruala," to whom they sing hymns, recognize a Supreme Being, whom they call "Pabachunati," and believe in the immortality of the soul and in a reward or punishment after death. How much of this belief is due to the missionary work done among them by Father Balburger, a Jesuit priest, who lived and died among them in the seventeenth century, no one can tell at this late date.

In 1907 the Jesuits sent from Spain one of their priests, Fr. Gasso, to feel the way and try to establish a mission among them. He lived on one of their islands till the end of 1911, when Fr. Benito Pérez, also a Jesuit, accompanied by another priest and one or two lay brothers of the same order, came to relieve him and continue the good work. For reasons external to and independent from the work being done there, they have lately abandoned the mission. His Lordship, Right Rev. Guillermo Rojas y Arriete, Bishop of Panama, is seriously studying the ways and means to keep up the Christianization and civilization of these unfortunates, but nothing has been done so far.

During the time of the last mission the good Jesuit priests



THE CHIEF MACHIE INDIAN OF THE SAN BLAS COAST, PANAMA.

succeeded, by dint of work and untold privations and sacrifices, in baptizing 700 Caribbees, mostly children, and building two churches and two schools on the islands.

I will close in the words of Fr. Pérez: "What a contrast to meet so near the Panama Canal, where the most civilized nations of the world will soon pass, these Indians, almost as wild as in the days of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus!"

FRA JUNIPERO SERRA, AND THE CALIFORNIA MISSIONS

BY ANN JUDGE

Less than a century and a half ago there was located along the coast of California, from San Diego to San Francisco, a series of missions under the charge of the Franciscans. These institutions belonged to the colonization period of Spain in Upper California. Their beginnings and rise are due more to the genius and holiness of one man, Fra Junipero Serra, "apostle, legislator, and builder," than to any other one or combined causes.

To-day on Rubidoux Mountain, near the boundary of the city of Riverside, in Southern California, stands a huge cross, on the base of which is the following inscription:

FRA JUNIPERO SERRA

1713-1784

DEDICATED

APRIL 26, 1907

BY

RIGHT REVEREND THOMAS JAMES CONATY

IN THE PRESENCE OF MANY PEOPLE.

As a peaceful soldier of the cross, Serra trod the valley below on his way from the mission at San Gabriel to the Indian village of Pala. Nor were the soldiers of Constantine when they saw the flaming emblem in the heavens more enlivened by superhuman zeal than was this humble Franciscan friar as he bore the sign under which he conquered and carried with it civilization to California.

Fra Junipero Serra was born on the island of Majorca, November 24, 1713. At sixteen he joined the Franciscan order, and at eighteen took his final vows. He distinguished himself in philosophy and theology and occupied the John Scotus



CROSS ON RUBIDOUX MOUNTAIN DEDICATED TO FATHER JUNIPERO SERRA

chair in the Lullian University at Palma. On entering the priesthood he changed his baptismal name of José Miguel to that of Junipero, after that faithful follower of St. Francis of whom the saint said, "Would that I had a whole forest of such junipers."

Although he served the university with distinction, his dearest hope was that he might be the means of bringing Christianity to the savage tribes of the New World. Endowed with the ardor of the explorer and the ecstasy of the saint, his joy was supreme when, at the conference of Franciscans at Cadiz, in 1749, he received the long-sought-for leave to join the missions in Mexico. Three of his college friends—Palou, Crespi, and Verger—were also selected, and the four set sail from Spain in August of that year. At the end of ninety-eight days they reached Vera Cruz, and from there started on foot to the city of Mexico. On the way Serra injured his leg, with the result that he suffered from lameness for the rest of his life. Arriving at the city of Mexico he was placed in charge of the missionary college at San Fernando. Seventeen years of his eventful life were passed in New Spain, during nine of which he personally ministered to the spiritual needs of the Indians in the Sierra Gorda district.

At that time the peninsula of California and the country northward was known as Las Californias, presumably named from a description of a fabulous country found in an old Spanish romance. The name was discovered by Edward Everett Hale, and it occurs as follows: "The island to the right of the Indies near the Terrestrial Paradise is California." The region was supposed to be a land of natural resources. The pearl fisheries of Lower California had already yielded considerable wealth, and the favorable chronicles of Cabrillo, Drake, and Viscaino, who had explored the coast of Upper California, seemed to argue well for the fanciful name of the romance.

In 1767 Spain determined to colonize Upper California. The plan of colonization was entrusted to Visitor-General and Governor Joseph De Galvez, a man of great executive ability and deep religious feeling. There is a letter of De Galvez's extant,

in which he sets forth the religious and temporal policy of Spain in the colonization of California. He says: "To establish the Catholic religion among a numerous heathen people, submerged in the obscure darkness of paganism, to extend the dominion of the King of our Lord, and to protect the peninsula from the ambitious views of foreign nations." The nation most feared was Russia.

De Galvez's first act was to appoint Father Serra, then fifty-three years old, President of the Missions, and when the latter chose his helpers for the coveted task his old friend Crespi was remembered. It was decided to equip the prospective missions with supplies from those missions already established in the peninsula. These institutions had passed into the care of the Franciscans upon the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Father Serra visited every mission for the purpose of collecting such articles as could be spared. Among the items recorded are seven church bells, eleven small altar bells, twenty-three altar cloths, nineteen full sets of vestments, twenty-nine brass, copper, and silver candlesticks, besides linens, carpets, crosses, holy-water founts and baptismal founts—a good supply of all articles necessary for religious ceremonies. Grain seed and food stuffs were also given as gifts, while live-stock and implements were a loan and were to be paid for in kind. The expedition was divided in two parts, one to go by sea and one by land. Two vessels were fitted out, the *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio*. All supplies and equipment went by sea, and the indefatigable Galvez himself assisted in the packing of religious articles.

In 1602 the Spanish explorer Viscaino visited the coast of California, discovering the bays of San Diego and Monterey. He disembarked at the latter point, in company with his crew and a few Carmelite monks. Mass was celebrated under an oak whose spreading branches almost touched the water. He sailed away, the first to bring the Sacrifice of Calvary to our western shores, and his annals glow with his impressions of the "famous port." The rude, though valuable, map left by Viscaino was the guide for the new expedition, and San Diego

and Monterey were naturally chosen as the most likely points for the pioneer missions.

Meanwhile the work of fitting out the vessels progressed; the *San Carlos* was at last pronounced seaworthy, and January 6, 1769, as she lay in the harbor of La Paz, the ceremonies of dedicating the expedition took place. Mass was celebrated; all partook of holy communion; Father Serra delivered the sermon and pronounced the blessing; De Galvez exhorted according to temporal needs; and on January 10, manned with Don Vincente Vila, commander, Lieutenant Pedro Fages, with twenty-five Catalonian volunteers, with Father Parron as chaplain, and under the patronage of St. Joseph, she set sail in a fair wind. De Galvez accompanied the vessel until he saw it round the cape, and then hurried back to continue the work of fitting out the *San Antonio*. The latter set sail on February 15 under the command of Captain Perez, and Fathers Juan Viscaino and Francisco Gomez as chaplains. At this point in our history De Galvez is said to have remarked, "God seems to reward my only virtue, my faith; for all goes well." Attention now turns toward the land expedition, preparations for the departure of which continued with all possible haste. On Good Friday, March 24, Captain Rivera and Father Crespi, accompanied by a guide, twenty-five soldiers, three muleteers, a band of Indian pioneers and Indian servants, sixty-four persons in all, started from Velicata on their memorable overland journey. Serra's party followed, forty persons in all, under the command of Captain Portolá.

After a voyage of fifty-four days the *San Antonio* arrived at San Diego. Three weeks later the *San Carlos* appeared in a sorry plight. She had been driven from her course and finished her tortuous way at the end of one hundred and ten days, her crew sick and dying from scurvy and provisions almost exhausted. Many of the sick were transferred to shore, and there infection spread to a degree that, when the officers and friars, who had miraculously escaped infection, called the roll of their gallant followers, about one-third had survived. The disheartening experiences of those who came by sea find a parallel

in the wearisome march of the land parties. Hewing their way through that arid country, where for miles the unfriendly cactus covers the ground with an almost impenetrable thicket, often drenched with cold rains, or terrorized by the treachery of Indian guides, the two land parties came at last in sight of the high tableland near San Diego and saw the masts of friendly ships at anchor in the bay. Fathers Crespi and Rivera arrived May 13, and Fathers Serra and Portolá six weeks later. It was characteristic of Serra to join the land party, rather than take the less fatiguing voyage by sea. His biographer and friend, Father Palou, relates an incident of the journey in which Serra, tortured by the pain of his sore leg, is unable to continue. Calling a muleteer, he says: "My son, can you not treat the ulcers on my leg and foot?" "But," said the muleteer, "I can cure beasts only." "Consider me a beast, then," said Father Serra. At which the muleteer prepared some warm tallow and herbs, applied the mixture to the sore, and after a night's rest Serra was able to continue the journey. On the arrival of the first land party, Mass was celebrated, the grand old hymn *Veni Creator* was sung to the accompaniment of guns, and with the smoke as incense. Thus states the old memoir by Palou. On July 14 Portolá, Rivera, and Crespi start out to find Monterey. Two days later the first California mission was established at San Diego. The ground was blessed, the cross set up, the bells pealed forth their invocation and thanksgiving, and Mass was celebrated in a booth consisting of wattled shrubs. These ceremonies marked the founding of every successive mission. In some cases a bell was hung to a neighboring tree and rung vigorously, in the hope of attracting the natives. Two friars, a few soldiers, mechanics, and laborers, several head of cattle, tools, seeds, and church articles furnished the personnel and equipment of a mission establishment.

Full of most lively interest is the journey of Crespi and his companions in their quest of Monterey. With memories of the barren peninsula left behind, panoramas like unto sunny Spain spread before their charmed sight. The roses were like those of old Castile and Crespi's diary notes the plucking of a branch

bearing twenty-four blossoms. The natives were friendly, the skies blue, the fields golden, and the snow-capped mountains overlooked the sea. The diary is a monotonous though faithful record of each day's march. Favorable sites for missions are carefully marked where Nature's bounty seems manifest. Day by day they pushed on, traversing the road that afterward became the picturesque King's Highway, until summer waned and many became ill of the scurvy. The wet season advanced upon wandering but dauntless spirits, and Monterey had not been found. With Viscaino's guide of the coast, they failed to recognize the two important landmarks contained therein, namely, Point Pinos and Rio Carmelo. The mystery of their failure to find Monterey may be partly explained, first, by the fact that the Rio Carmelo was mentioned by Viscaino as a full, broad river, while, when the land pioneers viewed it, it was hardly more than a dry creek; and, second, the reckoning of the latitude differed by thirty minutes.¹ Almost willing to believe that the sand-dunes had covered up the famous "puerto" of Viscaino, they pushed on forty leagues to the north, and found themselves under Point Reyes and in sight of the old port of San Francisco. Then was recalled a conversation between De Galvez and Father Serra, when, at the time of deciding the names for the missions, Father Serra said, "Is there to be no mission for St. Francis?" To which De Galvez replied, "If St. Francis wants a mission in his honor, let him show us his port." Now, had the saint hidden Monterey so that his own mission might be remembered? While the expedition was resting in sight of the old port of San Francisco, Lieutenant Ortega and a few soldiers left the party to explore the peninsula, and while in chase of a deer they climbed a hill and saw the inland sea now known as San Francisco Bay, doubtless the first white men to gaze on its waters.²

The party now turned southward, and this makes it all the

¹See Bancroft, "History of California."

²The old port of San Francisco, discovered and named by Viscaino, gradually lost its identity after the Mission Dolores of St. Francis of Assisi was founded in 1778, and became the nucleus of the present great port of San Francisco.

more strange that on retracing their steps they still failed to find Monterey. They set up a cross at Carmelo Bay at an actual distance of one mile from the place they sought, with the inscription, "Dig at the foot and thou wilt find a writing," the writing being an account of the failure of the expedition. They continued southward, and distress pursued them. Cold, wet, hunger, and sickness contributed to their wretched plight. The natives, however, were friendly and furnished a good supply of nuts. On January 24, 1770, the pilgrims came in sight of San Diego, six months and ten days from the time they started.

Affairs at the mission were in bad shape. The hostility of the Indians soon showed itself, and on the fifteenth of August the first massacre took place, when they boarded the ships and, armed with bows and arrows, tore the bedclothes from the sick sailors. The meagre guard of eight soldiers in charge of the mission succeeded in terrorizing the natives, but only after one Spaniard had been killed and Father Viscaino wounded. Sickness continued its ravages, and in the face of imminent want the *San Antonio* had been despatched to the peninsula for supplies of medicine, food, and clothing. After days of patient waiting for the return of the *San Antonio*, with starvation at hand, Portolá gave orders for the abandonment of the missions. Father Serra remonstrated, and gained a little time by his fervent pleadings. When, however, the abandonment of the mission seemed inevitable, he declared he would remain alone, and finally gained a stay of nine days for the completion of a novena to St. Joseph. And the holy man gathered around him those disheartened souls, and they besieged the gates of heaven with prayer and supplication, and the calmness of faith sustained them! On the nineteenth of March the novena was finished with special pomp and ceremony, and the day wore on in silence and suspense. The sun was setting—darkness and night—and the morrow, what? Point Loma is still outlined against the fading sky, when lo! like a solitary pelican of the deep, a sail appears! Then did the lame man leap as a hart, the tongue of the dumb did sing—sang hosannas to the Highest, shouted pæans of praise and



FATHER JUNIPEBO SERRA.

thanksgiving. Like a phantom ship, the *San Antonio* disappears and returns in four days. She had been bound for Monterey, whither Portolá, Crespi, and Rivera had started. Running short of water, she put into the Santa Barbara channel, to be told by the natives that the expedition had turned southward. Notwithstanding this information, she was about to continue her course when the loss of an anchor drove her back to San Diego.

With fresh supplies and equipment, they decide for a second time to seek Monterey. This time Father Serra is not able to take the land journey, so he went by sea on the *San Antonio*, and Crespi again joins the land forces. The latter arrives May 24, and Father Serra a few days later disembarks on the ground where Viscaino and his Carmelite monks landed and said the first Mass one hundred and sixty-seven years before, and about one mile from where Father Crespi had planted the cross. They found the latter, decorated by the Indians, with shells, feathers, and bits of wood, and at the base offerings of fish and meat. On acquaintance with the natives, the white men were told that the cross would often become luminous at night and assume a great size. On June 3, 1770, the mission of San Carlos Borromeo was founded, and in the churchyard of the mission can be seen the remains of the oak under which Father Serra is said to have celebrated his first Mass. In the following year was founded the neighboring mission of Del Rio Carmelo, and shortly after it became the headquarters of Father Serra. He made the change that the mission might enjoy a better water supply, and to withdraw his flock from the harmful influences of a military post.

Conversions were slow at first, and not a small fraction of the anxiety of the good Padres was the immorality of the Spanish soldiers. Friction developed between Lieutenant Pedro Fages and Father Serra. The latter determined to test the wisdom of the military rule, and in 1773 he took a perilous and exhausting journey to the city of Mexico and laid before the Viceroy thirty-two articles of administration pertaining to the government of the missions. Serra was in the main successful, and he re-

turned to California supported by the hope that now all his dreams would be realized. Among the important measures he succeeded in effecting were: sole control of the converts by the missionaries, greater military protection, the use of laborers to cultivate the land, mechanics and blacksmiths to teach trades, prompt forwarding of supplies, and discipline of soldiers on complaint of a missionary (especially for immorality). To what extent these measures were wise can best be judged by results. The following year is marked by no disasters, the crops are successful, and in the five years thus far of mission history four hundred and ninety-one baptisms are recorded. The sixth year is marked by the total destruction of San Diego and the martyrdom of Father Jaume. When Indian treachery and cruelty combined to storm the buildings with firebrands, this hero appeared before the murderous host uttering his favorite ejaculation, "Love God, my children." He disappeared in the conflagration, and his body was found later, having been beaten almost beyond recognition and thrown into the creek. When Serra heard of this great loss he said, "Now is the mission baptized in the blood of the martyr. Henceforth it is established," and hastened to the spot with supplies and material with which to rebuild.

A period of prosperity gradually set in and continued for twenty-nine years after the death of Father Serra. He laid the foundation of agricultural and industrial pursuits among the neophytes, and the harvest of his work was reaped spiritually and materially long after he had passed away. This remarkable man was in spirit a man of the thirteenth century, but in practical initiative he belongs to the present age. He combined the seraphic qualities of the saint he followed with the stern wisdom of worldly experience. But the spirit was always dominant, the spirit of the martyr. Physical torments had no terrors for him. It is said that during his sermons he would beat his breast with a stone or apply a lighted torch to his flesh, and there is a curious engraving in the old memoir in which the Padre is represented standing high above, but in the midst of, a motley assemblage, a crucifix in one hand and a stone in the

other. He died at the San Carlos mission at Monterey in 1784, two years after the death of his faithful friend Crespi ("El Beato," as he was called), and from whose loss Father Serra never fully recovered. Many incidents of his death are lovingly recorded by Father Palou. Serra walked to the church, a distance of two hundred yards, to receive the last rites, the day before his death. From that time, constant prayer was on his lips until his spirit left its earthly shell. He was buried with military honors of the rank of general. Immediately upon his death miraculous power was attributed to any article he had used or touched, and a guard of soldiers was necessary to prevent the carrying away of pieces of his habit. The military and religious pomp that attended his funeral was not nearly as impressive as the sorrow of the simple natives that followed him to the grave. Stern and aggressive though he was, his fundamental virtue was humility, and by that humility that tempered and enriched his other virtues he gained such loving service. If efforts failed, he looked to himself for the cause, and he refused all credit in times of success. When the Indian mother snatched her babe at the time of the first baptism, he declared it must have been his own unworthiness that caused the mother's faith suddenly to desert her.

Nine missions were founded by Father Serra. In 1786, two years after his death, the missions had an enrollment of more than five thousand Indians. In 1804 nineteen missions had been established and twenty thousand Indians baptized. The neophytes were organized in community life, their labors directed by the white man. At sunrise the angelus bell called them to Mass, then followed breakfast and a dispersal to their respective labors. Dinner came at eleven, with a rest period following, and a return to labor until sunset. More than twenty useful arts and trades were represented by their industry. A stockade surrounded the mission community, serving as a means of protection and of marking property limits. The Mission Indians were allowed certain free time when they might even visit their brethren on whom the light of faith had not yet dawned. The tendency toward desertion was lessened by the

fact that there was always plenty to eat at the mission, a state of affairs not always enjoyed by the Indian in his wild felicity. Young girls and unmarried women were housed together in quarters separated from the rest of the community. During the evening the Indians were not infrequently allowed to indulge in their native games and dances. They were taught to sing and to play on certain musical instruments. Enough progress was made in singing to enable them to sing by note from the Mission Hymn Book and to chant the Mass.

Wisdom was shown in selecting mission sites. The most favored spots in a naturally fertile land yielded abundant rewards for labor spent upon them, and their location near the coast made a market for their products. Trading-posts were established in 1800. Tanning, soap-making, pottery-making, and weaving became important industries. The two hundred head of cattle, an important item in the wealth of the pioneers, increased more than a hundred-fold, and the hides therefrom became in time the "California banknotes." The early struggles and hardships diminished year by year, due not a little to the well-planned organization of labor. As the number of travelers increased, the missions became hostelrys and dispensed famous hospitality. A day's journey apart from mission to mission, the benighted traveler was welcomed with every kindness. An Indian groom would care for his horse, and on his departure in the morning would furnish a fresh beast if necessary. The rude booth of wattled shrubs where the mission Fathers would offer the daily Sacrifice was now an adobe temple of graceful arches, stately corridors and cloisters, of towers and turrets. The bells, which at first hung from oak-boughs, became sonorous-toned voices pealing their vibrant notes from belfry towers, or, as in the San Gabriel mission, grouped and suspended in a framework of adobe masonry. When the writer visited the San Gabriel mission, the custodian graciously escorted the party to the belfry, where we heard at close range the sweetly solemn tones of the bells. One bell was missing, and after our guide had explained that it had been found on the property of a

famous ranchman several miles away, he facetiously added that it must have blown there. Often a walled garden completed the poetic beauty of the mission architecture, as at Santa Barbara at the present time. There, amid graceful confusion of roses, lilies, mignonette, honeysuckle, and fragrant herbs, you follow the good monk along the path to the great crucifix near the wall, where the passion flower and willow mingle in perfume and sighs.

In the plan of colonization of California the ultimate idea was the founding of towns or pueblos. The mission Fathers by their conquest of souls prepared the wilderness for the white man. Military protection was intended for all. The missions prospered beyond all expectation. Undoubtedly the white man was living largely upon the labor of the neophytes. But the Indian had received the first great gift from the white man—he had been taught to labor. Some writers see only abject slavery in the condition of the Indian. Let us recall, however, the wisdom of the great Greek philosopher who said that “that man is most free who is free even in slavery.” The poor Indian was most free, not in spite of his slavery, but because of it. Imagine, then, the effect on the missions when, in 1813, the Spanish government declared for their secularization. Certain civil rights which the savage breast had as yet never longed for were to be thrust upon him. The power of the Friars began to decline, although it was not until nine years later, in 1822, when Mexico threw off the yoke of Spain, that the full force of the secularization decree was felt. In the early days of struggle the missions were helped with stipends from the Pious Fund, a fund accumulated by the Jesuits and confiscated by Spain upon their expulsion from the peninsula. No longer needful of such help, the missions not only became self-sustaining, but were even a source of revenue for the Spanish government. The control of thirty thousand Indians, organized for efficient labor on a soil blessed by natural riches, was a state of affairs that probably no government would view without concern. With the emancipation of the Indians, the Padres were restricted to spiritual duties alone. An administrator and a

board of magistrates assumed temporal power. Each family was allotted four hundred square yards of land. How independence affected those infant souls is a homily on their fitness for such a state. A Protestant writer,¹ visiting California in 1834, writes as follows: "The dynasty of the priests was much more acceptable to the people of the country, and indeed to every one concerned with the country by trade or otherwise, than that of the administradores. The priests were connected permanently to one mission and felt the necessity of keeping up its credit. Accordingly the debts of the mission were regularly paid and the people were in the main well treated and attached to those who had spent their whole lives among them. But the administradores are strangers sent from Mexico, having no interest in the country; not identified in any way with their charge—broken-down politicians and soldiers, whose only object is to retrieve their condition in as short a time as possible. The change had been made but a few years before our arrival on the coast, yet in that short time the trade was much diminished, credit impaired, and the venerable missions were going rapidly to decay."

In 1834 there were twenty thousand Indians; in 1840, six thousands. No wonder they left the plow and the loom when the call of all the ages led them to mountain and stream. But it was not in desertions alone that the Indian communities became depopulated. Disease, too often the accompaniment of civilization, felled their ranks. Such is the story of those neophytes on whom the great Junipero placed the yoke of labor, the bondage of self-restraint, and the anchorage of faith, hope, and charity. And the cross stands on Mount Rubidoux, the mute emblem of that great pioneer.

Contemporaneous history in the East is marked here and there by a slab commemorating a skirmish with the Red Coats, or by the conventional shaft that speaks the greater sacrifice. The statue of the Minute Man, "by the rude bridge that arched the flood"; the Liberty-Bell, the chronicles of the poets—all express the spirit of '76. In far-off Poland a solitary cross, standing on an eminence in a gently undulating meadowland, often

¹Dana, "Two Years Before the Mast."



FATHER SERRA'S MONUMENT AT MONTEREY.

breaks a lonely landscape. In the harbor of Boulogne a giant crucifix looks out over the ocean. These are emblems of spiritual comfort and faith. But the cross on Rubidoux mountain proclaims the early civilization of California. Guarding a valley unequalled the world over for its smiling beauty and rugged outlines, it is the sign that conquered in that spiritual conquest of souls, and while the sacred fire of liberty was being kindled in the East, a hierarchy begun in the spirit of St. Francis of Assisi flourished in the West. No State in our Union has such hallowed beginnings. For fifty years the Indian and the white man lived together in Christian faith and charity. No State can boast a like record.

For the Californian, the love of his State is a part of his religion. Religious differences are of no moment in the contemplation of its early history, and Catholics and Protestants are of one mind in keeping alive the spirit and traditions of its birth. The statue of Father Serra at Monterey was erected by Mrs. Stanford in 1902. A cross marking the landing-place of Father Serra is the gift of Mr. James Murray of Monterey. In a prominent place in the exchange of the Del Monte Hotel hangs the likeness of the first President of the Missions, and the Mission Inn at Riverside is a unique blending of all the elements in mission architecture. But the missions themselves are the real source of inspiration. At San Carlos you are fortunate if you meet Father Mestres, the present pastor, who will show you the vestments worn by Father Serra, the Spanish embroideries, silver altar vessels, candlesticks, and crosses. The mission is a simple, unostentatious structure, restored in latter years. As the home and place where Father Serra died, it has a special aura, and Father Mestres, himself a Spaniard, is an inspiring custodian of its traditions. Its angelus bell, heard on a sleepy noonday or at the cool twilight, seems to breathe a sanctified isolation, an ingratiating sweetness. Not far away is the Mission San Carlos del Rio Carmelo, half ruin, half temple. Here rests Father Serra. San Juan Bautista, at a distance of about thirty-five miles, is the next to claim one's attention. Here also are fine vestments and rich altar ornaments. It is not the writer's purpose, however, to devote space

to an adequate description of the mission buildings, their architecture, their relics, their many evidences of Indian progress and industry. One word about Santa Barbara, patron of sailors, whose towers guided many a vessel to an effective landing. To see Santa Barbara is to feel the spirit of religion, combined with the poetry and romance of other days. It is the only mission now under the charge of the Franciscans.

A unique spectacle, "The Mission Play," given under the shadow of San Gabriel near Pasadena, has now had its second successful season. John Stephen McCroarty, California's poet and historian, has written a mission play that tells the story of the struggles, success, and decline of the missions in vivid picturesque style. A theater that combines the various forms of architecture of the old missions has been erected for the purpose. On the walls of the playhouse are rude decorations, such as the Indians placed in many of the mission churches. The pageant opens by a monk, an Indian, and a Spaniard crossing the stage in solitary succession. Such terse presentation of historic material grips the attention. The proceeds of the enterprise will be devoted to restoring the missions, the majority of which are in various degrees of ruin.

There will soon be erected in Presidio Hill Park at San Diego another cross in honor of the first great Christian missionary on the western coast. It will be constructed of tiles taken from the ruins of the first Christian habitation. They have been dug out and will be fashioned into a sturdy monument bearing an appropriate inscription.

In this sun-blessed land the juniper tree flourishes beside the oak and the palm, its lasting fragrance a fitting symbol of the great pioneer who doffed his baptismal name to become Junipero. And as the evergreen sheltered the prophet of old, so Junipero Serra brought spiritual shelter to thousands of benighted souls. Ye shall know him by his humility, by his sanctity, fervor, and charity, by the harmony of that immortal soul which, after the stress of its earthly pilgrimage, found its cadence with the celestial choir, and echoes to-day on the shores of that "Terrestrial Paradise" known as California.

A VILLAGE CHURCHYARD

BY THOMAS F. MEEHAN

IN THE circular which the Catholics of the Village of Brooklyn sent out on January 1, 1822, giving their reasons for organizing the first parish, on Long Island, St. James', Jay Street, it was stated: "In fact, we want a church, a pastor, and a place for interment." Previous to this the dead had to be taken to New York, to old St. Patrick's, for interment, or they were buried in some of the non-Catholic graveyards.

The original purchase of ground for St. James', March 2, 1822, consisted of eight lots, and, according to the village custom of that time, after the church was built the ground about it was used as a graveyard. The original church stood about thirty feet from Jay Street, and subsequent additions brought the old building nearer the street line, until it reached the site covered by the present structure, which replaced the other in 1903. References to the graveyard are to be found in the following entries in the old parish records:

"Sept. 12, 1823, J. Mehaney was appointed schoolmaster and sexton, and to take care of the burial ground.

"Sept. 19, 1823, were expended on the church, and leveling and fencing in of burial ground, \$7,118.16.

"Oct. 4, 1824, on the death of the Rev. Mr. McKenna, all the ground in front of his grave was ordered to be reserved exclusively for the use of the clergy.

"Feb'y 20th, 1825, John Murray was appointed sexton and schoolmaster."

His salary was \$60 a year.

When the vacant spaces of the original eight lots were all filled, more ground was procured, until the land extended in a tongue back to about one hundred feet of Bridge Street. In this contracted space it is claimed that more than six thousand adults and children were buried.

The ground was blessed on April 25, 1822, the Rev. Richard Bulger, then in charge of the mission at Paterson, N. J., and

its neighborhood, preaching the appropriate sermon. For nearly ninety years the faithful who were buried about St. James' have rested in its consecrated earth unencroached upon by the busy, active life that has built up the great city since they went to sleep in the Lord. St. James' is unique in this respect, and alone among the old Brooklyn churches, although several were built before it, preserves intact the hallowed spot where the forefathers of the hamlet sleep.

Many of the other graveyards have been profitably sold off for building lots, and the bones of the dead removed to less valuable ground, to be replaced by stores. St. Anne's building, on Fulton Street, nearly opposite Clinton, stands where once was the graveyard of an Episcopal church. The *Brooklyn Eagle* office, at the corner of Washington and Johnson Streets, was built on the graveyard of "Dominie Johnson's" church. The graves about the old Sands Street Methodist Church, the pioneer structure of that denomination, were done away with for the Bridge extension. St. James' alone guards within the shadows of its walls the bones of the pious men and women who reared the original structure, or who prayed within its precincts for a quarter of a century thereafter.

In 1824 the village of Brooklyn purchased from Leffert Lefferts a small farm in the Wallabout district, a portion of which was set aside for a burying-ground and divided into convenient parcels, which were allotted to the different religious bodies of the village in the following manner: No. 1, Dutch Reformed; 2, Friends; 3, Presbyterians; 4, Catholics; 5, Methodist Episcopalians; 6, Universalists; 7, Episcopalians; 8, Baptists; 9, common ground. During the few years this cemetery was in use some Catholics were buried there. It has long since ceased to exist. In 1824 the population of Brooklyn was about 7000.

The first interment in St. James' yard was that of Joseph D. Grady, on April 29, 1823; and the last those of Susannah Duffy and James McKenna, on May 21, 1849. Intermural interments were forbidden by law on and after June 1, 1849, and Holy Cross Cemetery, Flatbush, was then opened. In

October, 1900, I made a visit to the graveyard and found there were then more than two hundred tombstones standing in a more or less fair state of preservation. Old St. James' Church was replaced in 1903 by the present pro-cathedral, and the greater space occupied by this new structure, the building operations, and the changes necessitated by the erection of the new rectory in the rear, wiped out a number of the old memorials. There are now (February, 1914) not more than 135 left of those to be seen at the previous date above cited. The oldest graves then marked were located about the middle of the yard, near the side entrance on Chapel Street. The very oldest, that of John O'Connor, once a grocer on Cherry Street, near James' Slip, New York, had this inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of John O'Connor, a native of the Parish of Kildinig, County of Limerick, Ireland; died August 19, 1822, age 36 years. Erected by his affectionate brother. May his soul rest in peace."

Two other stones near by were of the same period:

"Erected by James Cody to the memory of his son, John Cody, who departed this life August 3, 1824, aged 1 year, 1 day."

"I. H. S. The grave of William Doyle, who died September 26, 1824, aged 24 years."

These stones disappeared in the construction of the side walls and projections of the new church.

There is an old folio volume of 153 folio pages kept in the parish archives in which the record of the interments is preserved. It was begun by Sexton John Murray, who started the list with the following memorandum as a preface:

"An alphabetical list of those persons who purchased lots in the cemetery of St. James' Church, in the village of Brooklyn, with the number and section inclosed to their names."

The first entry he made is under the date of April 12, 1825, and reads:

"Name not known; buried in poor ground."

A homeless, unknown stranger thus obtained the charity of a last resting-place in the cemetery. Subsequent entries show that the charge for the interment of a child was \$3, and for

an adult double that amount. The list of names also proves that people were brought from New York, "Fort Diamond," Harlem, Flatbush, and as far down on Long Island as Babylon, to be buried in St. James' churchyard. The first entry, after that of the unknown stranger cited above, also on April 12, 1825, reads:

"Edward Brennan's child, New York."

In the book of interments the custom of recording the cause of each death was kept up for the first seventy-five pages of the record, and many of these entries are curious. For instance, under July, 1828, we read: "Farrell Grogan's child; eating poisoned weeds"; "Bernard Fine's child; swallowed a pin"; July 6, 1838, "John Murphy, aged 27; eating cherries and cold water"; "July 12, 1838, "Patrick Kean, aged 30; John Breslin, aged 32; sudden, cold water"—a plain warning against prohibition doctrines. Under date of January 29, 1828, appears the record: "Michael Riddon and John Feney, both suffocated"; and on October 7, 1841, the following is chronicled: "Samuel Snowman, killed on the Fulton Frigate, aged 28 years"; which recalls a famous historical accident at the Navy Yard. An entry on June 29, 1839, is: "Michael Francis, Indian, Williamsburg. Poor Ground." Poor Lo evidently did not have enough of the island his ancestors owned to give him the scant accommodation of a grave to himself.

The first resident Brooklynite named is entered under date of May 8, 1825, as follows: "Philip Reilly's child, Brooklyn." Mr. Reilly was a well-known resident of No. 202 Jay Street for many years. During the year 1832 the cholera raged in Brooklyn, and the newspapers tell of the deaths of over one hundred persons from its ravages between July and December of that year. The first plague death is recorded on July 1, 1832, as that of "John Hennessy, New York." The entries run thus along in the conventional mortuary course until the city had grown so large that for sanitary reasons further burials were prohibited.

The list of "auditors" and "trustees" signed to the sexton's

accounts gives some notes of old residents. In April, 1826, the name of Andrew B. Cook is signed as "President of the Board of Trustees"; in April, 1829, Peter Turner and Hugh Mallon are the next signers; October, 1829, "James Harper, President," and James Freel; April, 1832, James Fagan and John Shields, "auditors"; November, 1837, John Stanbury and John Furey, "auditors"; May, 1838, Michael McMahon and Thomas Younge, "auditors"; May, 1839, John Stanbury and William Hughes; November, 1840, Arthur McGowan and Thomas Mooney, Jr., "auditors." The last "auditor" signed is P. H. Lennox, 1841.

At the Chapel Street corner of the yard stands the bronze memorial bust of Peter Turner, a leader in the movement that founded St. James' congregation. It was erected there by the Brooklyn Catholic Historical Society and unveiled on October 20, 1895. Mr. Turner himself was buried in Flatbush Cemetery in 1863, but he was among the first to purchase a grave in St. James' for one of his children, who was buried there on July 6, 1825. Between the memorial and the church are the graves of two of the priests who ministered to the congregation in its infancy. They are marked by horizontal marble slabs, supported on six pillars, and are still in good condition. The inscription on the first, under an urn, reads:

"Beneath this tomb, erected to his memory, lie interred the remains of Rev. James McKenna, a native of the Parish of Rathdowney, Queen's County, Ireland, who was called by Him that giveth, to receive the reward of his labors as a minister of Christ, on the 3d of October, 1824, in the 60th year of his age. Also Michael McKenna, brother of the above named. This stone was placed by the widow of the latter.

"Mind the memory of men that are sleeping,

Asleep, but in death, never earth to value more.

Removed by their God from a world of weeping,

Great joys to receive for the just there in store."

Father McKenna was ordained in Ireland and came here in answer to the appeal for priests made by Bishop Connolly in 1815. He is known to have visited Newburg-on-the-Hudson occasionally in 1816. He later went to live with his relatives in Brooklyn, and officiated there for the little Catholic colony.

The parish record says of him, speaking of the early priests, Fathers Larisey, Bulger, MacAuley, and O'Gorman:

"The Rev. Mr. McKenna also celebrated Mass, and lies interred near the church."

The other slab is inscribed:

"Sacred to the memory of the Rev. James Doherty, a native of the Parish of Desertegny, County of Donegal, Ireland, who departed this life on the 19th of March, 1841, aged 33 years. This monument was erected by his affectionate congregation as a grateful testimony for their respect for his zeal and ability in the discharge of his duties."

His death notice in the local paper reads:

"In this city, on Friday, the 19th inst., Rev. James Doherty. His friends and acquaintances are respectfully invited to attend his funeral, on Monday, 22d inst., at 9 o'clock A. M., from his late residence, Barbarin street, near Tillary."

The poetic tribute included in the epitaph of Father McKenna is one of a number to be found scattered about the yard. The slabs over the priests' graves were originally placed side by side, but during the building period of 1903 one was set on top of the other, making a very curious combination. In this section there are two other bits of elegiac poetry, further to the rear of the church. The first reads:

"Erected by Amos Hoxie, in memory of his dearly beloved wife Elizabeth, a native of the County Longford, Ireland. Departed this life August 5, 1846, in the 27th year of her age. May her soul rest in peace. Amen.

"In this dark tomb remains my partner dear,
So much esteemed and loved by me while here.
I hope and trust to see thee as thou art,
In heavenly glory, never more to part."

Carved on this stone was the figure of a woman standing by a tomb shadowed by two weeping willows.

The other, not far away, over the last grave at the end of the extension, read:

"Gloria in Excelsis Deo. In memory of John David, son of John and Helena Horgan, natives of Cork. Died on the 25th Feb., 1834, in the 15th year of his age.

"The Lord was pleased in his early
days to take our hopeful youth away.
To heavenly light our boy has

Taken flight to join his brothers
three.

O Father, Mother, Brother, my all,
for me don't mourn or weep, but
prepare, and hope we all ere long
again to meet in heaven above,
where never, never more to part.

Amen.

All you good Christians stop and pray."

The effort in this direction that used to attract most curiosity was on a stone far to the rear, between the yards of the houses on Chapel Street and old Stryker's Court. The inscription is preserved only by tradition, and, before it became obliterated by time, read:

"Anne, wife of Daniel McCarty, a native of Killarney, Ireland, killed—

"Twenty years I was a maiden,
Nine months I was a wife;
And then I was a mother,
And then I lost my life."

McCarty kept a hotel at Tillary and Stanton Streets.

Stryker's Court, with its tumble-down tenements, and the parish school where the boys were taught have given place, on this side of the yard, to the new St. James' Park and recreation center.

Going back to the Jay Street end of this section, next the priests' graves a stone has disappeared, on which, under an elaborately carved weeping willow, was inscribed in an oval panel:

"In memory of Maria, wife of Joseph Craven, a native of Kings County, Parish of Rahan, Ireland. Died October 30, 1846, aged 21 years."

Other stones in this section were these: James Dooley, Kilkenny, Ireland, 1838, his wife, Anne, and four children.

John Loughery, County Donegal, Ireland, September 21, 1823, and daughter Rose, September 19, 1823. Two children of Patrick J. and Mary Devine.

Ann, widow of John Steven, Kilkenny, Ireland, September 25, 1837.

John Dawson, County Donegal, July 5, 1837. Ellen Han-

nen, illegible. Neal Carney, County Donegal, May 31, 1837. Catharine, wife of James Martin, 1846; also her mother, Bridget Mathews, 1844.

James Murray, April 10, 1838, and his wife, Susannah. Ann, wife of Geo. Sweeney, 1847. Ann, wife of Darby Dawson, County Donegal, January 31, 1827. Darby Dawson, July 28, 1832. Michael Murphy, County Cork, December 18, 1855. John Campbell, County Donegal, January 6, 1836, and his brother James, March 10, 1852. Patrick McLaughlin, County Tipperary, July 27, 1828. Michael Costigan, Queens County, May 29, 1837.

One of the things notable among these graves is the early age at which most of their occupants died. The twenties and thirties were most conspicuous among the ages on the epitaphs on all sides. The best kept part of the old yard is that to the south of the church and facing the new public park. It contains the graves of several well-known Brooklyn families. There are more than sixty headstones now standing in this section, most of them in fair condition. Some of the old markings of wooden crosses and boards withstood the assaults of sun and storm up to ten years ago better than the marble and red sandstone slabs that seemed so much more durable when put up. But they are gone now. Near the entrance was a well-preserved board slab, surrounded by crumbling stone memorials, on the grave of Anne Cary, who died June 2, 1838. Near by lies Bridget Cunningham, died November 23, 1843, and esteemed by her husband as follows:

"A virtuous wife in prime of life
By death was snatched away;
Her soul is blest and gone to rest,
Though her flesh is gone to clay;
She left behind in a husband's care
A beloved daughter and son.
May they prepare to meet her where
True love will ne'er be done."

Another poetic tribute, paid to John Hugue, died October 14, 1846, aged 46, read:

"Farewell, dear wife and brother dear,
I am not dead, but sleeping here;
My debt is paid, the grave you see,
Prepare for death and follow me."

Close to Jay Street, half sunken in the turf, are four high slabs marking the graves of the relatives of the once prominent Brooklyn politician, Hugh McLaughlin. The first is for Bernard McLaughlin, the ferryman, who lived at No. 322 Water Street, and on it is:

"Erected by Bernard McLaughlin in memory of his dearly beloved wife Mary Ann, a native of the Parish of Movill, County Donegal, Ireland, who departed this life July 26, 1847, age 45 years; also five children, Thomas, Mary, Edward, Daniel and Thomas."

On the next, which was put up by John McLaughlin, who married Hugh's sister, is inscribed:

"Sacred to the memory of Susan McLaughlin, who departed this life, October 1, 1850, age 42 years. May her soul rest in peace. Erected by her husband, John McLaughlin. 'For though I walk in the midst of the shadow of death I will fear no evil, for thy rod and thy staff they comfort me'—Psalm 22, 4th verse. Also in memory of their son, Bernard McLaughlin, who died December 25, 1848, in the 24th year of his age; also Mary, John, Susan, Grace and Agnes, who died infants."

On the third, for another brother, Luke, who lived at No. 176 Jay Street, there is cut:

"Sacred to the memory of Luke McLaughlin, who departed his life, June 19, 1849, age 32 years. Erected by his mother, Grace McLaughlin. 'Oh, thou, O Lord, art my protector, my glory and the lifter-up of my head. I have cried to the Lord with my voice and He hath heard me from His high hill. I have slept and have taken my rest.' Psalms 32d chap., 4 and 5 verses."

On the fourth stone, that of the father, we read:

"Sacred to the memory of Hugh McLaughlin, a native of the Parish of Cloncan, County Donegal, Ireland, who departed this life February 9, 1835, age 50 years. Erected by his wife, Grace McLaughlin. 'My soul waiteth for the Lord, for He is our helper and protector. Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us as we have hoped in Thee.' Psalm 52, verses 20-22."

Around and near this plot are buried: Patrick, Thomas, and Michael Mulligan, Co. Westmeath, 1829-1854. Ann, wife of John Langstaff, 1856. Patrick Dougherty, Co. Donegal, 1854.

Thos. Barry, Co. Longford, 1844. The children of John Fitzsimmons, who was an uncle of the late Vicar-General William Keegan. Patrick Farrell, Ardagh, Co. Louth, 1845. Mary, mother of Mathew Keenan, Co. Longford, 1851. Mary Shortell, 1856. Elizabeth Murray, Co. Kildare, 1842. Mary Boyle, 1846. John McNamee, Co. Longford, 1855, and his children. Michael and Francis Conroy, 1828, 1829. Patrick O'Brien, Co. Westmeath, Chas. Ed. Moller, son of the Venezuelan Consul, 1838. Ann, Bernard, and John Corry, Kings County, 1832-44. Ellen Coffey, 1845, and her two children. Margaret Miller, 1845. John Moran, Co. Clare, 1842, and his wife Mary and three children. Mary Elizabeth Colgan, 1842. John Colgan. John Merrigan.

To the rear of the church, a white stone was put up by William Bennett, who died in Liverpool during a visit to England. His remains were sent to Ireland. He was a brother of Colonel Michael Bennett. The inscription was:

"Erected by William Bennett in memory of his wife Margaret Bennett, who died August 9, 1839; also a brother, Thomas Bennett, native of Edenderry, Kings County, Ireland, who died in St. Marks, Fla."

From the notes I made during the examination of the yard in 1900 I transcribe the following, as then written. Most of the graves to which these notes refer can no longer be identified:

On the south side of the church are two headstones within an iron railing. One is so time-worn that its epitaph can not be read; the other is in memory of Bridget Kelly, who died October 2, 1833. Back of the church Hugh Mullen set up a wooden slab to mark the graves of his two children, Mary and Daniel, and it still stands in good contrast to the broken sandstone next it and a grave enclosed with an iron railing that has no stone to tell who is buried there. The space on the slab admits of only one "I" in Mullen and the inscription is hardly readable. There is another wooden slab alongside, but nothing can be made out of what was once inscribed on it. These are the only wooden memorials left, at this date (November, 1900). Both are well-worn and rotted and can scarcely stand up much

longer. The second wooden slab is said to be that of Margaret Nord, who lived in New York and died December 11, 1831, age 34 years.

(Part of one of these slabs is still visible (February, 1914) above the ground, just under the rear wall of the sacristy of the new church.)

Adjoining them is an elaborate slab standing on the usual six pillars. It was put up by Edward Murray, who kept the Old Ironsides Hotel, near the Navy Street gate of the Navy Yard, over the grave of his son, a young doctor, who was a purser in the Navy. The inscription says:

"In memory of Doctor James Murray, a native of Ireland, died 8th of June, 1822, age 28 years. Erected by his father, Edward Murray."

The father, Eugene Daly, a son-in-law, who died August, 1830, and Eugene Daly, Jr., who died in Florida, December 13, 1832, rest in one grave.

Five of the oldest graves in the place are overshadowed by the sanctuary extension of the church. One, of Patrick Collins, is dug close to the church foundation. The headstone of the first of the other four was put up "as a tribute of conjugal affection" by the "disconsolate widow" of Thomas Kinsley, who died January 11, 1827, aged 64 years. He was a native of Carlow and kept a place on Marshall Street, much frequented by Navy Yard people. The next was erected in memory of Patrick Farrell, who died October 10, 1832, aged 19; the third is over the grave of Hugh Reilly, who died July 16, 1831, and his son Edward, died August 2, 1832; the fourth was erected by James McCue over his wife Anne, aged 20 years; the rest of her record is obliterated.

Richard Holden's grave, March 11, 1851, and that of his sister Mary McFarlan, April 4, 1843, and his two daughters is near. He was a miller and lived at No. 219 Jay Street. Further back some New Yorkers are buried. On the stone over a man who lived at No. 48 Catharine Street is inscribed:

"Sacred to the memory of Joseph Fitzgerald, a native of Dublin, Ireland, who died August 5, 1848, aged 30 years.

"In this dark tomb remains a husband dear,
Esteemed and loved by me while here.
I hope and trust to meet thee as thou art
In heavenly glory, never more to part."

In the end of the Chapel Street corner are three old brown-stone memorials fast crumbling. One is over the grave of a man who kept a boarding house at No. 395 Pearl Street, New York. The inscription is:

"In memory of Alexander McDonald, a native of Dundalk, County of Louth, Ireland, died August 9, 1832; age, 35 years. Erected by those who now survive."

Another is over the grave of Francis Barrett, a merchant at No. 125 Washington Street, New York, who died aged 67 years, at his residence, No. 72 Laight Street, August 20, 1829. The inscription is partly illegible.

Other New York graves are those of Theodore Auber, a native of France; Ann, wife of Edward Conway, a well-known physician who lived at No. 7 Monroe Street; and William M. Miller, who kept a drygoods store at No. 410 Broadway and lived at No. 54 Division Street.

Stones standing over the graves at the extreme end of the Stryker's Court strip are these:

"I. H. S. Erected by Mary Donovan in memory of her dearly beloved son Jeremiah, a native of the city of London, who departed this life 27 Jan., 1849, age 27 years. He lived esteemed and died lamented. May his soul rest in peace. Amen."

"In memory of Bridget Hennessy, wife of John Hennessy, a native of the parish of Fallon, County Kilkenny, Ireland, who departed this life Nov. 10, 1848, age 38 years. May her soul rest in peace."

Near this is a large slab with a weeping willow carved at the head of this inscription:

"Erected by James Weldon in memory of his beloved wife Mary Anne Weldon, a native of Ballina, County Mayo, parish of Kilmoremoy, Ireland, who departed this life Feb. 11, 1849, aged 27 years. May her soul rest in peace."

In the crypt under the altar of the church is the tomb of the Right Rev. John Loughlin, D.D., first Bishop of Brooklyn, consecrated October 30, 1853; died December 29, 1891; and

there are many graves under the rear end of the church, which was built over them.

When, in 1835, the increase of Catholics in Brooklyn necessitated the starting of a new church, Cornelius Heeney gave the site at Court and Congress streets that had been rejected when St. James' was projected because it was "too far out of town," and St. Paul's was built. The churchyard here was also used as a place of burial. It was never a general cemetery, only a few members of the congregation and of the community of the Sisters of Charity being buried there. Mr. Heeney himself was buried there on May 6, 1848, and the grave is marked with a marble monolith, the epitaph on which reads:

"In memory of Cornelius Heeney, who departed this life on the 3d day of May, 1848, in the 94th year of his age. Born in Kings County, Ireland, he was a citizen of the United States from the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Throughout his life he was much respected for his many Christian virtues and was distinguished as the friend of the widow and orphan by his numerous acts of private benevolence and liberal gifts for the erection and support of institutions for their benefit; and at his death by the munificent bequest of an estate for their relief and comfort. Requiescat in pace. Erected by his executors, James Friel and Peter Turner, with the concurrence of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society, of which he was the founder."

Among the vaults is that of the family of André Parmentier, a famous horticulturalist and civil engineer, who came from Belgium to Brooklyn in 1824, and was one of the first trustees of St. James' Church. He died November 26, 1830. His remains, with those of his wife, two daughters, and son-in-law, Edward Bayer, are in this vault. The last interment was that of Miss Rosine Parmentier; a valued member and benefactor of the United States Catholic Historical Society, who died at the age of seventy-nine years, on January 30, 1908. Mr. Heeney, when he laid out these vaults, insisted on giving Mrs. Parmentier a deed in fee simple for the strip of ground in which the family vault was built, and he had it legally recorded as a formal real estate transfer. The right of way to it is also preserved as a covenant of the deeds to the property given in the church site. The Sisters of Charity whose remains were buried here

were: Sister Appolonia McCready, 1841; Sister Baptista Keegan, March 4, 1860; Sister Zelia May, April 6, 1869; Sister Rose Genevieve McCauley, August 17, 1870; Sister Scholastica McSweeney, August 3, 1872; Sister Clementine Jackson, January 14, 1875; Sister Felice Grace, July 14, 1878; Sister Elizabeth Tracy, August 3, 1878; Sister Dora Cogan, January 12, 1882; Sister Aurelia Campion, May 17, 1885.

After the panic of 1837 the Rev. James O'Donnell bought four city lots at the corner of North Eighth and First Streets, Williamsburg, and began the erection of old St. Mary's Church in the center of the plot. It was a small wooden structure, and was used until Father Malone built the present structure of Sts. Peter and Paul. The ground around old St. Mary's was used also as a cemetery. After it was closed it remained in a most discreditable state of neglect, the graves overgrown with grass and weeds, the stones broken and their inscriptions obliterated, until April, 1890, when the ground was sold to the Sugar Trust. The graves were dug up and whatever bones were found were reburied in St. John's cemetery.

When the pioneer German pastor, Father John Raffener, started the big parish of the Holy Trinity in July, 1841, he bought part of the farm of Abraham Meserole on a hill that sloped toward Ewen Street and Montrose Avenue. That part of the property on Graham and Montrose Avenues, taking in a piece of ground in the rear of the present church, was used as a cemetery. When the new church and schools were built, in 1853, several acres of ground were bought adjoining the Evergreen Cemetery, and the bones of the deceased members of the congregation were transferred thither from the old burying ground. One of the most striking features of this cemetery is the evidence it presents of the democratic equality of the grave.

When it was established it was resolved that there should be not the slightest distinction in the appearance of the graves of rich and poor, and the rule was established that no stone monuments should be erected. Galvanized iron monuments are permitted, but they must be plain. Some of these are painted to

resemble granite and marble. Probably the most striking feature of this unique cemetery is the profusion of crucifixes. Every grave, no matter how humble its memorial, is surmounted by a crucifix, mostly of wood, some five feet high, and the effect on the visitor is impressive in the simple, strong faith it indicates. Almost every grave, too, has its poetic tribute to the dead. Quaint old German rhymes, tender, sincere, pathetic, and all breathing an intense religious spirit telling of the virtues and merits of those who sleep beneath. The following is the inscription over the grave of a young girl:

"Life's brimming cup to her bright lips for one brief hour was raised,
But death dashed down the glowing draught—God's will be praised."

Still another feature of Holy Trinity Cemetery is the custom that obtains regarding the graves of children. Here we see the simple and homely customs of the old world in full relief. The playthings of the dead child are placed upon the little one's grave, and when the father or mother comes to say a "Vater Unser" at the graveside, the dear one is recalled vividly and distinctly by the sight of these familiar toys sacred during life and still remembered.

While there is an absence of everything like pomp, in the surroundings, there is noticeable an extreme care and neatness, which tells plainly that the humble dead that lie here are not forgotten. The forgotten graves seen in all cemeteries are wanting here. It would be difficult to find a single mound in this German "God's acre" that has not some token of remembrance.

Flatbush Cemetery was opened immediately after St. James' was closed in 1849. The new cemetery of St. John's, at Middle Village, was purchased in 1879, when the Holy Cross showed signs of being crowded in the near future.

REGISTER OF THE CLERGY LABORING IN THE
ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK FROM EARLY
MISSIONARY TIMES TO 1885

BY THE MOST REV. MICHAEL AUGUSTINE CORRIGAN, D.D.

IX

TONNER, REV. ADAM

FATHER TONNER, born December 5, 1835, at Foehrer, near Treves, came to America in 1848, studied at St. Vincent's College, La., and at the Montreal Seminary, and on July 26, 1865, was ordained priest by Cardinal McCloskey in St. Patrick's. From 1865 to 1873 he was assistant at St. Nicholas' Church, and attended Blauvelt in '69-70. From 1873 to his death, May 4, 1891, he was rector at St. Mary Magdalen's, East Seventeenth Street, where he built the church, dedicated October 12, 1873, by Very Rev. Father Quinn, V.G. Father Tonner was named missionary rector in 1887.

KESSELER, REV. ANTHONY

Father Kessler, born in the Rhenish province in 1840, came to America at the age of eleven, and made his preparatory studies at the Redemptorist College of St. Peter, Cumberland, Md. On the completion of his theological studies, pursued at St. Mary's, Baltimore, and at Our Lady of Angels', Niagara, he was ordained a priest, April 29, 1865, by Cardinal McCloskey, in old St. Patrick's Cathedral. After some months passed as assistant at St. Nicholas' Church, he was, on September 5 of that year, named rector of St. Joseph's, Manhattanville, with instruction to free the parish from financial embarrassment. He enlarged the church in 1871, procured three bells for the steeple, erected the pastoral residence in 1874, and devoted considerable attention to the schools. Father Kessler was lost with the steamship *Bourgogne* in July, 1898.

COYLE, REV. HENRY

Father Coyle, previously attached to the diocese of Chicago, was assistant at St. Lawrence's, Yorkville, 1865-1869, attending also Ward's Island. From 1868-69 he was rector at Verplanck's Point. In the summer of 1882 he left the diocese, and was succeeded by Rev. Patrick Mee. From September 24, 1893, to April 15, 1894, he was engaged, as far as his strength permitted, in assisting Rev. Edward M. Byrne at Millbrook. On June 6 of the latter year he died a happy death at Millbrook, at the age of seventy.

HASSEY, REV. WILLIAM J.

Father Hassey, the first priest ordained for the New York diocese in St. Joseph's Seminary, Troy, at the first ordination held there, December 17, 1864, had made most of his theological studies in Montreal. The celebrant at his ordination was Bishop de Goesbriand of Burlington.

While engaged in attending sick calls, in the discharge of his duties as assistant to Dr. Morrogh at the Immaculate Conception, Father Hassey contracted typhoid fever, and died February 7, 1865.

VANDENHENDE, VERY REV. CANON LOUIS JOSEPH, D.D.

Father Vandenhende, born at Renaix, Belgium, May 4, 1814, studied for the priesthood in Ghent, and was ordained there in 1840. He became assistant the same year at St. Walburge, Oudenarde; director of the diocesan seminary of Ghent in 1846, professor of moral theology in 1847, honorary canon of St. Bavon's Cathedral, 1857, and honorary doctor of theology, Louvain, 1864.

On October 18, 1864, he became president of the Provincial Seminary of St. Joseph, Troy, the first to hold that office. The seminary, purchased in December, 1862, for \$60,000, consisted of a building 300 x 70 feet, and thirty-nine and one-half acres of land, reputed to have cost the original owners \$195,000. The selection of professors having been committed by Archbishop Hughes to Bishops McCloskey and Fitzpatrick, these

prelates had proceeded to Belgium and secured the services of Fathers Vandenhende, Gabriels, Roelants, and Puissant. The seminary was solemnly blessed by Archbishop Hughes, and placed under the invocation of St. Joseph, December 1, 1864. Canon Vandenhende presided over the seminary until the summer of 1871, when he returned to Belgium. On July 20 of that year he became titular canon and grand penitentiary of Ghent, later, June 24, 1888, becoming vicar-general, and in 1889 archdeacon and dean of the chapter; on July 2 of the same year he was named vicar capitular. In 1890 he was decorated Knight of the Order of St. Leopold. He departed this life July 1, 1901, in Ghent.

HUGHES, REV. JOHN J.

Father Hughes, born November 1, 1834, in County Down, came to America in 1856, graduated at Fordham in 1862, studied in the Sulpician Seminary, Montreal, and was ordained priest July 26, 1865. He became assistant, in turn, at St. Peter's for three months in 1865, at St. Mary's, Rondout, from December, 1865, to November, 1866, and during the four succeeding years at the Immaculate Conception. In 1870 he was named rector at St. Jerome's, Mott Haven, 138th Street (see Shea, p. 407). He was stationed at Millbrook from May 15 to August 15, 1891, and from March, 1894, at St. Joseph's, Spring Valley, as the first resident rector.

He departed this life December 21, 1895. At the requiem Mass at the Immaculate Conception, Rev. J. H. McGean was celebrant, Rev. J. Dougherty of St. Monica's, deacon, and Rev. D. Cronin, sub-deacon. Rev. J. J. Dougherty preached the sermon, and Archbishop Corrigan pronounced the absolution.

PASQUET (DE LEYDE), REV. MARCELLUS WILLIAM

Father Pasquet was stationed at St. Peter's, N. Y., in 1815.

MAGUIRE, REV. THOMAS

Father Maguire was assistant at St. Mary's, 1833, and pastor at Waddington, 1839, and at South Amboy and Somerville, 1841.

CLANSEY, REV. MR.

Father Clansey is mentioned in the Almanac for 1835, p. 67, as belonging to New York diocese, but not as assigned to any parish.

RAFFEINER, VERY REV. JOHN STEPHEN, V.G.

Vicar-General Raffener was born at Wallt in Tyrol, December 20, 1785. Educated by the Benedictines at Innsbruck and in Rome, he became a physician and was placed in charge of the military hospital in Milan. He was ordained priest in May, 1825, labored in the diocese of Brixen, Tyrol, and was thence received by Bishop Dubois into the New York diocese, 1833. He was the first priest who labored to any extent among the Germans of this city. (Bayley, "Brief History of Catholic Church on the Island of New York," p. 120.) He officiated first in a small Baptist church, rented for the purpose, located at the corner of Delancey and Pitt Streets. In 1835, on Easter Monday, April 20, the cornerstone of St. Nicholas' Church was laid. On Easter Sunday of the following year the church was dedicated. (See Shea's "Catholic Churches," p. 540.) He remained at St. Nicholas' about seven years. It appears that in 1839 he built the old church of St. John Baptist in Thirtieth Street. He also built St. Joseph's (or St. Luke's), Macopin, and laid the foundation of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Boston. (See article on the history of Holy Trinity Parish, by Paul H. Linehan, in this volume, RECORDS AND STUDIES.) He was the pioneer German pastor at Utica, Rochester, and Albany.

In June, 1841, Father Raffener began to build the Church of the Most Holy Trinity, in Williamsburg, and he remained as pastor there for the rest of his days, acting, from 1845, as vicar-general for the Germans.

He departed this life July 17, 1861. Archbishop Hughes preached the funeral sermon.

BURNES, OR BYRNES, REV. WILLIAM

Father Burnes labored in Jersey City in 1834-35-36. He

was stationed for a short time in Plattsburgh and was succeeded by the Rev. George Drummond of Syracuse. He died October 11, 1837, at Plattsburgh. Father J. T. Smith, however, states that he died April, 1836, and was buried beside Father McGilligan.

WALSH, REV. P. W.

Father Walsh was appointed pastor at the Cathedral, November, 1835, to succeed Rev. T. C. Levins.

CURRAN, REV. MICHAEL

Father Curran, born in Ireland, was ordained at Conewago, in February, 1826, by Bishop Conwell of Philadelphia. He was pastor at Elizabethtown, and at Harrisburg, where he had a parish school in care of the Sisters of Charity. After coming to the New York diocese, he was directed to organize a parish at Harlem. He had under his charge a large portion of Westchester County and over two-thirds of what is now the diocese of Brooklyn. (See Shea's "Churches," p. 565.) The cornerstone of St. Paul's Church, Harlem, was laid June, 1829, and the church, on completion, dedicated by Bishop Dubois, 1835. In 1843 Father Curran went to Ireland, and on his return founded the church at Astoria, where he died, November 23, 1856. He used to say that he had helped into the Church his neighbor, the Protestant rector of St. Andrew's, Harlem, the Rev. J. R. Bayley, afterward Archbishop of Baltimore. An instance of his zeal and charity during the cholera of 1832 is related by Shea, l.c.

Father Curran was uncle to Rev. M. Curran, for many years the pastor of St. Andrew's.

FREITAS, REV. JOHN

Father Freitas was assistant to Father Varela at the Church of the Transfiguration from 1837 to 1841.

TERHYKOVICH, REV. LOUIS

Father Terhykovich was assistant at the Transfiguration,

1837-38; at St. James, 1839-40-41, and at St. Andrew's, 1843-48, and for another period beginning 1861.

MAGINNIS, REV. JOHN

Father Maginnis, after having served on the mission in the Carolinas and Georgia, 1833-36, became assistant at St. James', 1836-37, and, after November 24, 1837, pastor at Poughkeepsie, Saugerties, and Rondout. In 1840 he was at the Chapel of St. Ignatius, at the Asylum in Fiftieth Street. He was directed to organize a parish there, and erected a modest frame building, blessed by Bishop Hughes, May 9, 1841, under the invocation of St. John the Evangelist. Father William Nightingale succeeded him at St. John's in 1842; Father Felix Larkin succeeded in 1844. Father Maginnis was at St. John's, Bloomingdale, 1841-42; and pastor of St. Andrew's for a short period beginning 1843, being succeeded by Rev. John M. Smith. In 1852, and for several years preceding, he was at Sag Harbor, attending also Jamaica, Babylon, Cold Spring, Glen Cove, Greenport, Smithtown, and Westburg.

GILLBRIDE, REV. MICHAEL

Father Gillbride was for many years a missionary in Columbia, Greene, and Delaware Counties, territory now comprised in the diocese of Albany. In 1837 he was assistant at St. James'; in 1836 or 1838 and in 1840 he was pastor at Watertown and Carthage; in 1841 at Hunter, Columbia County; in 1842 at Hunter, at Gilboa, Schoharie County, and Middletown, Delaware County. When the diocese of Albany was formed in 1847, Father Gillbride, still in charge of these missions, passed under the jurisdiction of the new see. He departed this life August 17, 1854.

HEAS, REV. MICHAEL

Father Heas, educated at Chambly and at St. Mary's, Baltimore, was ordained in the latter city by Archbishop Eccleston, May 4, 1837. In the same year he was assistant at St. Mary's, Albany. From 1839 till the formation of the Albany diocese,

1842, he was a missionary in the district including Syracuse, Salina, Manlius, Pompey, Mexico. He was at one time appointed to the seminary at Lafargeville. He departed this life April 24, 1858.

PAX, REV. ALEXANDER

Father Pax, a dear friend of Bishop Neumann, often mentioned in the life of the latter, was born about 1798. In 1837 he was at Eden, near Buffalo. From 1838-1843 he was pastor of St. Louis' (German) Church. Under many difficulties, and at a cost of \$5,196, he erected the parish church, a brick building 180 x 80 and 40 feet high. A great deal of the labor was done gratuitously, after the day's work. (See *N. Y. Cath. Register*, Feb. 6, 1840, p. 57.) The total cost of the church at completion was about \$12,000. Great troubles with the lay trustees broke out in this parish in 1843, and in consequence Father Pax lost his health and returned to his native country. He became parish priest at Döbling, in the diocese of Metz. After living to celebrate his golden jubilee, he died at Saargemünd, diocese of Metz, February 18, 1874.

WATERS, REV. RICHARD

Father Waters was assistant at St. James', Brooklyn, 1837, and pastor of St. Paul's, Brooklyn, 1838-39.

WATERS, REV. PATRICK

Father Waters was the uncle of Father John A. Waters of St. Raymond's, Westchester, and the brother of a Mr. Waters, who gave these details to Archbishop Corrigan on June 11, 1884, on the occasion of Confirmation at the Protectory. Father Patrick made his studies in France, and was ordained by Mgr. de Cheverus, about 1832. He became chaplain to the Duchess of Larochejacquelein, niece of Charles X. Mr. Waters, the archbishop's informant, was originally intended for the ecclesiastical state, and had studied three years in Bordeaux with seven other Irish youths, before the breaking up of the seminary in the July Revolution, and Mr. Waters'

consequent departure for America. During the vacations the eight Irish students dined daily at the castle of the duchess. Once at a wedding breakfast Mr. Waters, the only one present unable to speak French, had been placed next to Mgr. de Cheverus, who spoke English. Mr. Waters subsequently married an American lady, a Methodist, who in after years became a Catholic. In 1849 Father Patrick Waters came to the States, and became chaplain at Mount St. Vincent's, attending also, as was then customary, Ward's Island. On April 28, 1850, after four days' sickness, he died of ship fever, contracted in the discharge of his duties on the island. He was buried in St. Raymond's Cemetery. Father Waters and Mr. Waters used to visit Archbishop Corrigan's father, as all three were natives of the same district.

RESULTS OF MY CARTOGRAPHIC INVESTIGATIONS

BY PROFESSOR JOSEPH FISCHER, S.J.

Greenland According to a Map of Ptolemy.—Some twenty years ago, while occupied with a work dealing with the discoveries of the Normans in America toward the year 1000, I had occasion to observe that a curious peninsula, situated in the northern part of Europe on the Ptolemy *mappa mundi*, edition of Ulm, 1482, appeared to represent Norman Greenland. The controversy which immediately followed this interpretation impelled me to study the matter with care, in order that I might be sure of the question in all its aspects. To-day, none of my colleagues any longer doubts that the peninsula situated in northern Europe and which jutted out in a point toward the north really represented Greenland.

But, for what reason did the editor of the above-mentioned *mappa mundi* assign to Greenland this incorrect position? Evidently he must have found it so represented on the manuscript which served him as a model. The question was, where to find this manuscript, which I had sought in vain for twenty years. Finally, the answer came to me whence I least expected it.

Cartographic Discoveries in the Wolfegg Palace.—In July, 1899, in a communication from Father Hermann Haffner, S.J., librarian of the Wolfegg Palace, I was informed that in the collection of copper engravings in the palace there was a Ptolemy manuscript, and that upon the world-map which accompanied it appeared the representation of Greenland which I had so long vainly sought.

With great impatience, I awaited the vacation of the fall of 1900, and when the time came I immediately arranged my journey to Swabia, where is situated the magnificent Wolfegg Castle, the residence of the Prince of Waldburg-Wolfegg-Waldsee, and there, to my great joy, I immediately satisfied

myself not only that the peninsula appearing upon the map which was the beginning of my investigations corresponded perfectly with the precious Ptolemy manuscript in Wolfegg, but that the latter had been also the model for all the maps of the editions of Ulm of 1482 and 1486.

The kind and amiable prince permitted me to examine all the treasures in prints and manuscripts contained in the ancient and spacious castle, and I eagerly availed myself of this generous permission. After examining the collection of prints, in which was contained the magnificent parchment of *Donnus Nicolaus Germanus*, with the manuscript text and the maps of Ptolemy's *Geography*, I passed on to the library, and from the library to the garret. The hope of success, so many times dreamed of, was converted into a reality and a beautiful triumph. In the library I found the great world-maps and marine charts of the German cartographer *Martin Waldseemüller* (*Ilacomilus*) of the years 1507 and 1516, which for centuries had lain forgotten in the palace, and in the garret a wall map of the world by *Jodocus Hondius* (died in 1611), larger even than the preceding, which, compared with those of *Waldseemüller*, gives an excellent idea of the progress of cartography during a period of one hundred years.

The three world-maps have since been published in original size; moreover, in spite of every effort, no one has as yet succeeded in finding another copy of any of them, which indicates that they are the only three existing copies. The very important world map of 1507, engraved on wood, is called "*America's baptismal certificate*," because it is the first map which bears that name. And this title seems justified, since it is easy to show that the name "*America*" passed from this map and its accompanying text of the *Cosmographiae Introductio* (1507) to the maps which immediately followed and their corresponding texts, as well as to those of *Glareanus*, *Schöner*, *Vadianus*, *Honterus*, *Apean*, etc. The second wall map of *Waldseemüller*, of 1516, the first marine chart printed in large size, is also very important from an artistic point of view. Upon it appears, on the tropic of *Capricorn*, instead of the name "*America*," the

designation "Brasilia," misprinted, by the way, "Bresilia," but corrected to "Brasilia" in the errata which accompany the map in question. Nevertheless, this map cannot be considered the "baptismal certificate" of Brazil, for this name already appears on a manuscript map of the year 1512, which a year ago was acquired by the Brazilian government; in spite of this, however, Waldseemüller's marine chart had a decisive influence in causing the name "Brasilia" to appear on succeeding world-maps.

Interesting Offers.—The very high value which was placed and is to-day placed upon the Waldseemüller mapamundi of 1507, as the "baptismal certificate" of America, is shown by the offers which were directly and indirectly made to the prince. Hardly had the news spread of the lucky find when a London bookseller wrote me asking if the map could be acquired for 1000 pounds sterling (25,000 pesetas). Upon my answering that an offer of ten times the amount would be insufficient, there came the news that certain parties in America stood ready to pay \$50,000 (250,000 pesetas). And when it became known that this map of 125 x 230 cm. not only bore for the first time the name "America," but showed, also for the first time, the very interesting outline of the world by Ptolemy, as modified by the discoveries of Marco Polo, Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, Cabral, Bartolomé Diaz, Vasco de Gama, and other great Spanish and Portuguese discoverers, the offer was raised to no less than \$200,000, or 1,000,000 pesetas. But the announcements published in the newspapers were to the effect that the map had been sold to England for £75,000 (1,875,000 pesetas), or to America for \$500,000 (2,500,000 pesetas), was erroneous. The wall map of the world of 1507 is now safe in the custody of Prince Waldburg-Wolfegg, in the Wolfegg Castle, where it had passed so many centuries forgotten and unknown.

In Search of Cartographic Documents.—None of the three great world maps was included in the catalogue of the palace, which was so precise in other matters, and this circumstance made me suspect that in other palaces and in other libraries

there might also be cartographic treasures, even though their catalogues might not show this. And as the hunter is not discouraged by repeated failure, so I was not dismayed by the poor success of my first researches. A lucky find richly repays past efforts. In a library of Saint Gall I found a little map of modest appearance on a loose leaf in an Ulm edition of Ptolemy of 1482. No one was able to give me any information concerning this map, which evidently belonged to some ancient work on geography. To which? And where could it be found? To me it was clear that I had found a *mappa mundi* of Ptolemy, modified, for the numbers marked upon Europe, Africa, and Asia correspond: from 1 to 10, to Ptolemy's ten maps of Europe; from 1 to 4, to the four maps of Africa; and from 1 to 12, to the twelve maps of Asia. But after years of search I succeeded in drawing from its hiding-place, in two copies, the text corresponding to the little map in question, and, strange to say, in both copies the map was missing. After the publication of the text and map (Strasburg, 1910), it became known that there was a third copy of the "German Ptolemy" in America, but in it also this very map was missing. Now, then, this geographical work, interesting for many reasons, belonged to the end of the fifteenth century and was printed toward the year 1490; from which it follows that the little map, consisting of a single copy, is perhaps the most ancient eastern planisphere in existence.

In the wonderful National Library of Paris I expected to have some light thrown on the question of the model of the Roman Ptolemy editions of 1478, 1490, 1507, and 1508, the maps of which were outlined according to the characteristic projection of Donis, also employed in the parchment manuscript of Wolfegg, before mentioned. The number and excellence of the Ptolemy manuscripts of Paris greatly excited my admiration. One of them was specifically characterized as a Manuscript of Donnus Nicolaus Germanus, and bore the dedicatory inscription of the latter to Borso de Este, with marginal decorations in the preface, simple, but in good taste. A very careful examination convinced me that the said manuscript could

not be the model of the Roman editions, but at the same time I became absolutely certain that the Roman Ptolemy edition, so different from that of Ulm, referred to a work of Donnus Nicolaus Germanus. But the comparison with one another of the other Ptolemy manuscripts (most of the copyists of which were not mentioned), and with those of Donnus Nicolaus Germanus, was an alluring task, but difficult and time consuming.

First of all, I must publish the results of my first journey, which I did in my works "The Discoveries of the Normans in America"¹ and "The Waldseemüller Mapamundi."²

Successful Results of Other Journeys.—Long before the two great wall maps of Waldseemüller were edited, I set out on a new journey for cartographic investigations, my second, a journey the results of which gained for me the financial support of the Austrian Historical Institute of Rome, at the head of which is the celebrated historian of the Popes, Professor Dr. L. von Pastor, Imperial Counsellor.

Such a trip, and especially when undertaken with official subvention, is not begun without emotion, on account of the uncertainty of success. Would I have the luck to win success, and find something new?

I did find, in fact, something new, so new that at first I knew not what to do. In Milan the learned librarian of the Ambrosiana, Dr. Achilles Datti, showed me a Greek manuscript with sixty-eight maps, which he characterized as a very valuable Ptolemy manuscript. That it was old there could be no doubt, but that it was a Ptolemy was more than doubtful to me. I had seen very many Ptolemy manuscripts, but none of them had more than twenty-seven maps, and in this one there were more than double that number. The codex must be inter-

¹Freiberg, Herder, 1902, translated into English by B. H. Soulsby, London, Stevens, 1903, and St. Louis, Herder, 1903.

²The oldest map bearing the name America, of the year 1507, and the marine chart of the year 1516 of M. Waldseemüller (Ilacomilus), edited, under the patronage of the Imperial Academy of Science of Vienna, by Prof. Joseph Fischer, S.J., and Prof. Fr. R. von Wieser, Innsbruck, Wagner, 1903. And as the work was written at the same time in German and in English, the above mentioned editor, Henry Stevens of London, took charge of its circulation in America.

esting, and I also regarded as a notable literary curiosity this work with the multitude of maps, large and small, which it contained; but I congratulated myself at not having to occupy myself with the codex, since the object of my studies was confined to Latin manuscripts. Moreover, when, later, in Rome, Florence, and London, I found other Ptolemy manuscripts with more than sixty maps, the former gained in interest, and much more so when it was proved that they had many times exercised an influence upon the printed and manuscript Latin Ptolemy maps. Up to the present, none of these maps has been published, and when I publicly spoke of the find and its importance at the Geographical Congress held at Innsbruck in 1912, it was quite evident that none of those present had the slightest notion of the existence of these additions to Ptolemy.

Together with the ancient Greek manuscripts of Ptolemy in the Ambrosiana at Milan, there was another Latin one, with maps, beautifully written, and decorated with exquisite taste, which later proved to belong to a family consisting of several branches, which is of fundamental importance in the history of the evolution of the Latin prints and manuscripts of Ptolemy. In this manuscript, as well as in the others of the series, the names of the author and of the draughtsman who drew the maps do not appear; nevertheless, the writing, the adornment, and the drawing appear to have originated in Florence, and the studios where were made the maps of *Donnus Nicolaus Germanus*.

During this voyage of research through Italy I found Ptolemy manuscripts prepared by *Donnus Nicolaus Germanus* in Modena, Florence, Rome, and Naples, all of them drawn according to the characteristic projection of *Donis* and with such delicate taste that they are considered the treasures of those libraries.

A Very Notable Mappa Mundi in the University of Valencia.—One example of these beautiful *Donnus Nicolaus* manuscripts is to be found in Spain, in the library of the University of Valencia. Thanks to the good offices of the worthy Director of the Observatory of the Ebro, Father Richard Cisera, S.J.,

and the kindness of the librarian, I was able to secure photographs, admirably done, of all the maps and of the title-pages of the manuscript. On some future occasion I hope to discuss more at length the great importance of this beautiful parchment manuscript, but to-day I shall confine myself to devoting a few words to the *mappa mundi* which accompanies it.

Naturally, the photograph can not convey to us the slightest idea of the magnificent combination of colors of the original, but the twelve little Æolian heads and the clouds which surround them permit us to appreciate the artistic ability of the draughtsman. The blue of the sea stands out in the original against the land, which is left blank, much more than the dark tones of the sea against the light land in the photograph. Likewise the rivers, colored blue, and the mountains, of a dark golden color, appear in the reproduction as thick, black streaks, fancifully drawn.

On it can be seen clearly the union of the continents in the characteristic manner of Ptolemy, or, in other words, the prolongation of southeastern Asia and western Africa in such manner that, entirely inclosing the Indian Ocean, they convert it into an immense Mediterranean Sea. Prominent upon it, considerably increased in size, is the important island of Taprobana, to-day Ceylon; while, on the other hand, eastern India is reduced in size. No less characteristic of the Ptolemy *mappa mundi* is the Northeast Peninsula, situated in the northern part of Great Britain; the immense extent of the Mediterranean Sea from east to west, and the extension of the west coast of Africa, south of the equator, toward the west instead of toward the east. In spite of these and other similar faults, it is impossible to deny the merits of this map—the representation, approximately correct, of the Pyrenean, Apennine, Balkan, and Arabian peninsulas, and especially of the Nile, the source of which is indicated by two rivers starting from a lake. In a word, the merit of the western half of the map which with its bearings (north above, south below, east to the right, and west to the left) reminds us that modern cartography has been developed upon the foundations prepared by the

Ptolemy map of the second century (c. 150 A.D.). The author of the magnificent parchment manuscript of Valencia has had a most important part in this development.

Other Important Finds.—Besides the numerous codices of Donnus Nicolaus Germanus, from which are derived, directly or indirectly, all the Ptolemy charts of the fifteenth century, I found also magnificent codices of Henricus Marcellus Germanus, of "Petrus del Massaio Florentinus," and his companion, "Hugo Comminelli de Maceriis," of Francesco Berlingheri; in short, of men whose importance in cartography has never been properly appreciated to this day. To these finds must be added a series of manuscripts, the authors of which are not mentioned, and among which one, a Latin manuscript, No. 5698 in the Vatican Library, especially aroused my interest. Differing from all Latin manuscripts until then known, or even afterward found in a third voyage of investigation which I made to France, England, and Italy, in this one the cities were not indicated by means of little black rings filled with red, gilt, or black dots, but in the very ancient form of walls with battlements or decorations representing towers. On such vignettes representing cities, large or small, are usually found red dots, which indicate the exact location of the place, and little crosses, stars, or similar symbols, by means of which the ethnographical origin is indicated; and likewise, beside the names indicated in red, appear symbols corresponding to each particular tribe. The outlines of this map and the way in which the rivers and mountains are indicated correspond so exactly with the most ancient Latin manuscripts that I would have been ready to regard it as the model for all of them, and thus would have attained the object of my investigations. But the nomenclature was entirely different. The great similarity in the drawing, considered with the differences in names and inscriptions, could be explained only by assuming that this was a common Greek model, and this being the case, I was forced to dispose myself to include Greek Ptolemy manuscripts also in my programme of exploration.

The fact that I had found, also in the Vatican Library, a

Greek manuscript, the *Codex Urbinas graecus 82*, of the twelfth or thirteenth century, which had evidently served as a model for the only Latin manuscript of its kind, was of great importance.

With the object of undertaking new investigations, I had photographs made of all the maps of the Greek and Latin manuscripts, by means of which I was able to make an exact comparison with the Greek and Latin manuscripts of Naples, Florence, Milan, Venice, Vienna, Munich, Paris, London, and other cities, like Parma, Modena, and Nancy. The result was that the maps of the Vatican Greek manuscript *Cod. Vat. Urb. Graec. 82*, could be regarded as the direct and immediate model of the most celebrated Greek manuscripts of Florence, Vienna, Venice, and Paris.

The examination was not so easy in the case of the Latin manuscripts. Notable and radical differences obliged me to attribute to them other sources. The most important of these sources had been known to me for a long time—the Greek Ptolemy manuscript in the Ambrosiana of Milan, with its sixty-eight maps. Some modern maps form another source. The peninsula situated in the northern part of Europe, and which extends in a point toward the north, in the *mappa mundi* of the Ptolemy edition of Ulm, is a modification of the Ptolemy *mappa mundi* in accordance with modern sources. To mention another variation, interesting especially to Spain, I may point out that the islands situated to the northwest of the Pyrenean peninsula, designated by Ptolemy as the ten Casiteridas, received the names of the seven islands of the modern map of Spain of 1470 (of the ten little islands gathered in a circle, one group was made of the largest seven, with the names “*fayal ins. S. Andree, de pico, s. georgius, graciosa, ins. ithesu christi, s. michaelis, s. marie*”), and of Azores on the marine charts. In both cases I succeeded in determining the author of the rare innovation; it was the already many-times-mentioned Donnus Nicolaus Germanus, regarding whose social position and cartographic ability, in all their aspects, I hope to give more detailed

information when I consider the beautiful Ptolemy manuscript now in Valencia.

Now, since I am at present occupied in preparing for publication the most important Ptolemy manuscripts, Greek and Latin, I should like to be able to compare all manuscript maps of the same kind and nature, and, on this account, I now, in advance, give my deepest and sincerest thanks to all who may furnish me information of any Greek or Latin manuscript, with geographical charts, which, up to the present, may have remained forgotten or neglected, and may send the same either to my address or to the Director of the Observatory of the Ebro.

WAS COLUMBUS A SPANIARD AND A JEW?

HENRY VIGNAUD

(*American Historical Review*, April, 1913, Pp. 505-513)

FOR some time there have appeared in the American press, especially in the daily papers, startling statements asserting that, according to Spanish scholars, Christopher Columbus was not a Genoese, nor, in fact, an Italian at all; but that he was a native of Pontevedra, in the Spanish province of Galicia, and, moreover, of Jewish descent. In the April number of the *American Historical Review* we find a short article by M. Henry Vignaud briefly, pithily, and clearly telling the story of this remarkable discovery. Our readers will no doubt thank us for a short abstract of this curious find. To all Columbus scholars M. Henry Vignaud is known as one of the weightiest authorities on the history of the great Genoese discoverer; and, in fact, our readers need only refer to Canon Salembier's article on Pierre d'Ailly to appreciate the wide range of Vignaud's Columbian learning. The following abstract of his article will convince them of his force as a logician:

At Pontevedra, in the Spanish province of Galicia, one of the prominent citizens is a gentleman named Don Garcia de la Riega. In fact, his fame extends beyond his native province even to Madrid. Don Garcia's attention was naturally attracted to the early history of his town, and his studies were rewarded some fifteen years ago by the discovery that in the fifteenth century Pontevedra had been the home of a family named Colon. In itself this was not very remarkable, for in Spain Colons are, if not as plentiful as Smiths in England, plentiful enough. But Colon was a name assumed in Spain by the immortal discoverer of the New World, Christopher Colombo, or, as he Latinized his name, Columbus. As Señor Riega's researches progressed, his interest grew, for the Colons of Pontevedra, strangely enough, bore Christian names identical with

the well-known Christian names of the Colombos. The oldest Colon of Pontevedra, appearing in 1434 and in 1437, was Domingo, the same as Domenico, the name of Columbus' father. Then in 1438 there was Bartolomeo, corresponding to Columbus' younger brother Bartholomew. In 1436 there appears a Cristobo Colon, and in 1434 a Bianca. These names, of course, correspond to those of Christopher himself and of his sister Bianchinetta. But Señor Riega was not as yet at the end of his discoveries. The mother of Christopher Columbus bore the name of Susanna Fontanarossa, or, as Vignaud has it, Fontenarossa. Now, in Pontevedra there dwelt a family named Fonterossa, apparently Jewish, for the given names in the family were mostly Old Testament names. Here, of course, the facts ceased, but imagination might without violent effort suggest that Domingo Colon married a young Jewish lady named Susanna Fonterossa, and the strange parallelism between the Colon and Colombo families becomes even stranger.

By all this parallelism we may be astonished, or puzzled, if you will. It is unquestionably singular that there should be two families, the one at Pontevedra, called Colon, the other at Genoa, whose proper name was Colombo, but some of whose members, after coming to Spain, called themselves Colon, and that the individual members in each should bear the names of Domingo, Christopher, and Bianca. But history has noted many singular coincidences in the matter of names. Besides, we must bear in mind that the name of Colombo and Colon are found again and again in Spain and Italy. They are the counterparts in Spain and Italy of such names as Smith and Brown, and we should certainly not be astonished to find two Smith families with corresponding Johns, Henrys and Jameses. This consideration alone should make us pause. Evidently Señor Riega felt its weight, and so built up an airy hypothesis. To bring the Colons to Genoa, he takes advantage of some local disturbance in Galicia about 1440, and, without any warrant except his fancy, makes the Colons of Pontevedra emigrate to Genoa. Why to Genoa? Because this is necessary to satisfy Señor Riega's fancy. And, of course, it was possible for them

to go to Genoa as well as to a million of other places. Yet this removal has its serious difficulties; for the Colombos of Genoa, if they left Pontevedra about 1440, turn up in Genoese documents as early as 1429; such speed is decidedly phenomenal. Besides, the name of Colombo is by no means rare in Liguria or northwestern Italy. According to Harrisse's testimony, given before Riega's discoveries were announced, there were in Liguria during the fifteenth century no less than two hundred Colombo families, and of Domenico Colombos he found six in Liguria and four in Genoa. Besides, we should certainly lay some weight upon the testimony of the person most nearly concerned, *i.e.* Christopher Columbus himself, and his relatives. Not one of these says anything about the Galician origin of the family, while Christopher himself, his son Fernando, and his official biographer, Las Casas, all declare that the Admiral was of Genoese birth and descent. As compared with this testimony, direct, and undoubtedly applicable to the persons in question, what is the value of a few documents referring to some Colons in Pontevedra to whose identity no one could bear witness?

That his case was not very convincing Señor de la Riega must have felt from the beginning, and he therefore thought well to weaken as far as possible the supports of the received story of Columbus' descent.

Let us cast a glance at some of the contentions of de la Riega and his followers. The Pontevedra documents mention Christopher Columbus as early as 1436, but an important Italian document dated 1470 makes him nineteen years old, establishing 1451 as the year of his birth, an ugly discrepancy. How is this got rid of? By declaring that this Italian Columbus was not the discoverer at all.

In a document bearing the date 1479 the discoverer himself declares that he was then twenty-seven years of age, which would make 1451 or 1452 the year of his birth. This inconvenient date is disposed of by the statement that the Columbus of the document was not the discoverer. Again, according to Bartolomeo Colombo's own statement, he was born in 1461. If, then, as de la Riega claims, Christopher Columbus was born

in 1436, there was a difference of twenty-five years between the two brothers, a very unusual phenomenon. Besides, if Bartholomew was born in 1461, as he himself declares, he could not have left Pontevedra between 1440 and 1450, as de la Riega would have us believe. And the same is true of Christopher, who was born in 1451.

Another reason for denying the identity of the Genoese Colombos with the family of the discoverer is the claim that they did not seek to share the discoverer's prosperity after his success. But it is a fact that after the Genoese Domenico Colombo's death documents were issued holding his sons Christopher, Bartholomew, and Diego, then in Spain, responsible for his debts. But, say the advocates of de la Riega's views, these documents are forged. Again, we have a document in which the three nephews of the Genoese Domenico agree to send one of them to their cousin Christopher, admiral in Spain, to request his protection.

This and other similar documents are dismissed summarily as forged or referring to different personages. The supporters of the new hypothesis cite a long string of passages from various authors, ancient and modern, to back up their assertions; but Vignaud shows in each case that these writers, himself and Harisse among the number, have either been misunderstood or misrepresented.

Very remarkable is the boldness with which the Riegaists maintain that Columbus was not a Genoese at all. Yet Vignaud shows that Christopher declared himself a Genoese on two occasions. Moreover, his son Fernando, who, it is true, speaks of the doubts of certain persons regarding his father's birthplace, subsequently speaks of him as a Genoese when recording Christopher's sojourn at Lisbon and also in his last will and testament.

It remains to say a few words about Columbus' Jewish descent. As we have seen, the Pontevedra hypothesis, as a whole, is built upon sand. To make Columbus a Jew we must assume, moreover, that because Domingo Colon may have married a hypothetical Susanna Fonterossa, whose relatives bore

scriptural names, therefore the Colons of Pontevedra must have been Jewish, inasmuch as Jews only marry Jews. The following reasons are adduced as further arguments for the Jewish nationality of Columbus. The Admiral wrote in a biblical style. He was fond of quoting the prophets; he wrote a book of prophecies; he used a signature appearing to refer to some Hebrew doctrine; he left a legacy to a Jew; he was avaricious; he thought himself the messenger of Jehovah; he had a fresh colored complexion, an aquiline nose, and fair hair. It is needless to comment on this reasoning.

What is not the least astonishing circumstance connected with this remarkable discovery is the method of its propaganda. Don Garcia de la Riega repeatedly announced his new gospel to the Spanish Geographical Society of Madrid amidst great applause. Signor Anton del Olmet recommended it in the *La Espana Moderna*. Prof. Hyland C. Kirk sought to spread it in "The Secret of Columbus," and, last but not least, the Cuban Constantino Horta y Pardo had 25,000 copies of his pamphlet *La Verdadera Cuna de Cristobal Colon* printed and sent to all the governments, learned societies, and distinguished personalities, with a circular in four languages, in which the recipients are entreated to move heaven and earth—*Que Renoviendo Cielo y Tierra*—in order to spread the tidings that Columbus was born in Spain in the province of Galicia! Who can fail to be reminded of the days of St. Jacob's oil and Sapolio?

NECROLOGY

RIGHT REV. PATRICK A. LUDDEN, D.D.

AFTER an illness of nearly a year, the Right Rev. Patrick A. Ludden, first Bishop of Syracuse, New York, died at his residence, on August 6, 1912. Bishop Ludden was born February 4, 1836, in the village of Breaffy, near Castlebar, County Mayo, Ireland. He attended the village school, passed to St. Jarlath's College, Tuam, where he finished in 1861, and then emigrated to America and entered the Grand Seminary, Montreal, for his theological studies. He was ordained for the diocese of Albany, May 21, 1864, and was given charge, by the then Bishop McCloskey, of a church at Malone, N. Y. Within three months he was made Chancellor of the diocese, and when Bishop Conroy of Albany went to the Vatican Council he took Father Ludden with him as his theologian. In 1872 he was appointed Vicar-General and rector of the Albany cathedral, and in 1880 rector of St. Peter's, Troy. At the creation of the diocese of Syracuse Father Ludden was appointed its first bishop, December 14, 1886, and consecrated May 1, 1887. When he took charge there were in the diocese 74 priests (10 regulars), 16 parish schools, 2 academies, 5 orphan asylums, 2 hospitals, and a Catholic population of 70,000. The statistics for 1912 show the progress made during his administration. There were at his death 129 priests (15 regulars), 80 churches with resident pastors, 36 mission churches, 21 parish schools, 10,592 children under Catholic care, and a Catholic population of 151,463. In 1909 the Holy See gave him a coadjutor in the Right Rev. John Grimes, consecrated Titular Bishop of Hineria, May 13 of that year, who succeeded to the diocese of Syracuse. The deceased prelate was a man of strong convictions and filled his long life of nearly four-score years with activities along many lines. He was ambitious for his diocese and the city of Syracuse, of which he was regarded as one of

the best and most helpful citizens. . Christian education was his constant solicitude. His views on public questions were always given directly and in language that could not be mistaken.

REV. ISIDORE MEISTER, LL.D.

Rev. Isidore Meister, LL.D., pastor of Holy Trinity Church, Mamaroneck, New York, for thirty-eight years, died on July 1, 1913, aged sixty-eight years. He was born in Alsace, France, and came to the United States as a boy. His college course was made at St. John's, Fordham, and his theological studies at St. Joseph's Seminary, Troy, where he was ordained priest June 10, 1870. He was subsequently an assistant in the Epiphany, St. Brigid's, and St. Mary's parishes, New York City, and for a short period had charge of St. Raymond's, Westchester, before he was appointed pastor at Mamaroneck, in January, 1876. Here he built the handsome stone church and rectory and organized the parish schools. A forceful and pleasing preacher, he published a number of sermons in book form. His alma mater gave him the degree of LL.D. in recognition of his distinguished career as a pastor. In the affairs of the civic community he always took an active part and was regarded by all as one of the leading citizens. Fr. Meister was for many years a member of the United States Catholic Historical Society.

REV. MALICK A. CUNNION

Rev. Malick A. Cunnion, rector of St. Raphael's Church, New York, died, after a long illness, on February 17, 1914, at the rectory of the parish. He was born in New York on January 26, 1855, and was graduated with the class of 1874 from Manhattan College. His theological course was pursued at St. Joseph's Seminary, Troy, where he was ordained priest on January 26, 1879. He had been pastor of St. Raphael's Church since September, 1890, having previously served as an assistant at St. Augustine's, St. James', St. Michael's, and the Epiphany churches. He was during this period much interested in the promotion of societies for young men, and served

a term as president of the National Union of Catholic Young Men's Societies. In Fr. Cunnion the Historical Society has lost a loyal member.

REV. MICHAEL J. CONSIDINE

Rev. Michael J. Considine, who for many years was identified with the United States Catholic Historical Society, and for several years was its librarian, died on April 11, 1913. Father Considine was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in March, 1859, and at an early age came to New York. He received his elementary training in St. Gabriel's School, and thence went to Manhattan College, where he was graduated with honor. He was then sent to St. Joseph's Seminary, Troy, where he completed his theological studies, and was ordained to the priesthood on June 3, 1882. Appointed assistant rector of the Church of the Nativity, New York, he filled that position with honor and zeal. He next became a curate at St. Gabriel's, and after a year's service was named Director at the Troy Seminary, which he held from December, 1885, until July, 1889. From that time until January 1, 1895, he was the assistant director at the Church of the Guardian Angel, and assistant at St. Ann's Church until May 25, 1900. In the latter year he was appointed to the rectorship of Holy Trinity Church. The present edifice and the parochial house in that parish were built by Father Considine.

On the recommendation of the diocesan School Board he was made Inspector of the New York parochial schools in 1889. Here his executive and administrative ability proved of inestimable value in completing the organization of these schools and developing therein the courses of secular and religious studies. Notwithstanding Father Considine's failing health, he maintained to the last his deep interest in the welfare of this Society, and devoted his best energies to the establishment of its library.

REV. JOSEPH L. HOEY

Rev. Joseph L. Hoey, a member of the United States Catho-

lic Historical Society, died on April 11, 1913. Father Hoey was born in the city of New York, on February 17, 1858, and completed his classical studies at the College of St. Francis Xavier in 1873. Then, until December 22, 1877, he pursued his ecclesiastical course at St. Joseph's Seminary, Troy, and was ordained priest by Bishop De Goesbriand. He served as assistant rector in Peekskill in 1879, in Holy Cross Church, New York, from April to September, 1878, and at St. Mary's Church, Rondout, until September, 1886. From 1886 to 1888 he had pastoral charge of the mission at Gardner, and then became rector at Milton, with Gardner as its out-mission, from 1888 to 1894. In the last-mentioned year he founded the Church of St. Francis de Sales, New York, and built that edifice and the parochial house adjoining. The United States Catholic Historical Society loses in him an active and devoted member.

ADOLPH FRANCIS ALPHONSUS BANDELIER

A contributor of valuable papers to several volumes of our RECORDS AND STUDIES, and of a number of articles on the Indians, early explorers, and notable men of South America to "The Catholic Encyclopedia," Adolph Francis Alphonsus Bandelier, archæologist and historian, died at Madrid, Spain, on March 19, 1914, in his seventy-fourth year. He was in Spain to collect material for a historical work he was compiling. Born in Berne, Switzerland, August 6, 1840, he came to the United States in early manhood, and after trying various avocations settled down to the study of archæology, in which work he became one of the leading authorities on the prehistoric civilization of the American Southwest, Central America, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. The Archæological Institute of America sent him in 1880 to examine the ruins of the ancient pueblos and to study the native races of New Mexico, Arizona, Mexico, and Central America. He lived in Santa Fé, N. M., from 1885 to 1892, and for three years in that period he was in charge of documentary studies for the Hemenway archæological expedition. In 1892 he transferred his re-

searches to Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru, heading an expedition sent by Henry Villard, and gathered a great collection of antiquities for the American Museum of Natural History in this city. He controverted various historical myths, notably those concerning the Inca civilization of Peru.

After July, 1904, Mr. Bandelier was a lecturer at Columbia University. He wrote many books and scientific papers and one novel of pueblo life, "The Gift Makers." His works include "The Art of War and Mode of Warfare," "The Gilt Man," "An Outline of the Documentary History of the Zuni Tribe," "The Indian and Aboriginal Tribes of Chachapayas, Peru," "The Romantic School of American Archæologists," and "The Ruins of the Pueblo of Pecos." He also edited "The Journey of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca from Florida to the Pacific."

WILLIAM LUMMIS

William Lummis, a member of the Society almost from its foundation, died at his residence, 501 Madison Avenue, New York, in his seventy-third year, on March 15, 1914. He was born in New York and was related to the Pardows, O'Briens, and other old Catholic families. After graduating from Columbia College in 1859, he studied law for two years, and then went into the banking business, founding the firm of Lummis & Day. He served for twelve years on the governing board of the Stock Exchange, and in 1885 was president of that body. He was one of the founders of the Xavier Alumni Sodality and of the Catholic Club, a trustee for many years of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and its treasurer in 1910-11. He also held the office of Commissioner of Education.

DR. JAMES N. BUTLER

Dr. James N. Butler, one of the founders of the medical school of Fordham University and its first dean, died on March 14, 1914, at 331 Lexington Avenue, New York, aged fifty-three years. He was a graduate of Fordham University and Bellevue Medical School. He had practiced nearly thirty years.

JAMES E. DOUGHERTY

In the death, at his home in New York City, on March 10, 1914, of Mr. James E. Dougherty the community lost a valuable and useful citizen, the Church a zealous, faithful, and loyal son, and the Historical Society an active and enthusiastic member. Mr. Dougherty was born in the old St. Mary's parish on the East Side, on September 3, 1840. In his youth he attended the first school of the Christian Brothers in Canal Street and later their De La Salle Institute in Second Street. His schooldays passed, he joined his father, William Dougherty, in the coal business, in which he spent his business career and gained the modest competence that enabled him to devote most of the last years of his useful life to the cause of charity. As a young man he organized the St. Mary's Library Association, which was located on East Broadway, and served for several terms as its president, promoting all those activities for the improvement of young people which were the vogue in the early 'sixties of the last century. Following the example of his father, he joined the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and had been over forty years in its ranks at his death. He was vice-president of its Superior Council of New York, and president of the Particular Council of the Bronx. In connection with his Vincentian work, in the early 'seventies he was active in the councils of the old Catholic Union for the defense of Catholic interests, especially in the contest over the "Freedom of Worship Bill." He also assisted the famous Father John Drumgoole, who had known him from boyhood, in founding the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin for destitute boys. He kept up the old Warren Street St. Vincent's Home, organized the big Charity Bazaar for its benefit, and then persuaded Father Drumgoole to form the St. Joseph's Union, which soon spread its membership throughout the world and supplied the funds to build the splendid structure at Lafayette Place and Great Jones Street for the housing of five hundred boys. In 1882 Mr. Dougherty purchased the land on Staten Island where the great self-supporting institutions of Mount Loretto are now located. In the construction of the buildings and all other business opera-

tions Father Drumgoole availed himself of Mr. Dougherty's wise counsel and experience. He was the last survivor of the original trustees of the mission. Notwithstanding all the time and devotion he gave to the Drumgoole Mission, no Catholic work of charity ever appealed to him in vain. He aided largely the establishment of the hospitals managed by the Sisters of the Poor, the Fresh Air Summer Retreats of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and for two years traveled through New York State in the summer seeking and locating homes in the country districts for Catholic children. Mayor Low and Mayor McClellan made him the Deputy Charities Commissioner during their administrations, and he was thus able to bring into the conduct of the city departments many necessary and valuable reforms. He was prominent as a delegate at the two national conventions that have been held of the Catholic Charitable Societies of the United States, at which the experience of his long and active work helped to secure practical results of national importance. In the Marquette League he displayed the same zeal on behalf of the Indian missions, and in our own Historical Society he was one of the earliest enrolled members and always gave to its interests most practical and unflagging support. In the words of one of his associates of the Superior Council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society: "Our late friend was the very type of a Catholic layman: most fervent and zealous in the performance of evangelical good works, he sought no means of getting the approbation of men, and what he did he did for God's sake, in obscurity. His example is greatly to be admired and followed at this time, when the din of noisy reformers and philanthropists disturb our very peace."

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, NEW YORK, APRIL 9, 1913

The annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society was held this evening at Delmonico's, Forty-fourth Street and Fifth Avenue. Dr. Herbermann presided.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer's report for 1912 was then presented and read by Mr. Joseph H. Fargis. From this it appeared that the income for the year exceeded the outlay by \$856.75. The report was accepted and a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Edward C. McParlan, J. D. Maguire and Joseph H. Fargis, was appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

The Recording Secretary then read the list of members who had died during the year.

Dr. Herbermann then addressed the Society, relating the work performed since the last meeting by himself and the Executive Council. Mr. Treacy's efficient service as Treasurer of the Society was especially commended.

The President mentioned also his indebtedness to Rev. Frs. Campbell and Spillane, to Rt. Rev. Mgr. Brann and Mr. Meehan for their valuable aid in the production of our historical volumes. Allusion was likewise made to the serious illness of our Librarian, Rev. Father Considine, and the President's kind words of appreciation and sympathy met the evident approval of the audience.

Mr. James A. Rooney received permission to make a few remarks about the work of the Bureau of Catholic American Chronology. From these it appeared that our Honorary President, His Eminence the Cardinal, has accorded his formal approval to the labors of Mr. Rooney. Accordingly the endorsement of this Society was, upon motion of Mr. Fargis, seconded by Rt. Rev. Mgr. McGean, also extended to the Bureau in question.

The matter of the Election was then taken up. The Recording Secretary read the ticket proposed by the Executive Council. Upon motion of Mr. McParlan, seconded by Mr. Condon, the entire ticket was regularly and unanimously elected, as follows:

President, CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, Ph.D., LL.D., Lit.D.

Vice-President, Stephen Farrelly.

Treasurer, Richard S. Treacy, A.M.

Recording Secretary, John E. Cahalan, A.M.

Corresponding Secretary, Joseph H. Fargis, LL.B.

Librarian, Rev. M. J. Considine.

Trustees:

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jos. F. Mooney, Henry Heide.

V.G. Peter Condon, A.M.

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jas. H. Mc- Thomas S. O'Brien, LL.D.

Gean, LL.D. Thomas F. Woodlock, LL.D.

Thomas F. Meehan, A.M.

Councillors:

Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, Hon. Edward B. Amend, LL.D.
S.J. William R. King.

Edward J. McGuire, LL.B. Andrew J. Shipman, LL.B.

Rev. Joseph F. Delany, D.D.

The business of the meeting being finished, the meeting adjourned.

JOHN E. CAHALAN,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, NEW YORK, JANUARY 29, 1914

The annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society was held this evening at Delmonico's, Fifth Avenue and Forty-fourth Street. Dr. Herbermann presided.

It is gratifying to record that the attendance of members was more numerous than usual. This was probably due to the fact that the President had been able to secure the services of the eminent lecturer, Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., to add interest to the occasion.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer, Mr. Richard S. Treacy, then read his annual report, and the same was received and ordered to be placed on file.

The President appointed Messrs. Charles Murray, James Dougherty and Rev. William Livingston a Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

The President announced the main purpose of the meeting to be the election of a new administration, and he requested the Recording Secretary to read the ticket proposed by the Executive Council.

Upon motion of Rev. Fr. Livingston, duly seconded, the Recording Secretary was instructed to cast one vote for the entire ticket as submitted. This being done, the following officers were declared to be duly and unanimously elected:

President, CHARLES G. HERBERMANN, Ph.D., LL.D.

Vice-President, Stephen Farrelly.

Treasurer, Richard S. Treacy.

Recording Secretary, John E. Cahalan.

Corresponding Secretary, Joseph H. Fargis.

Librarian, Rev. Joseph F. Delany, D.D.

Trustees:

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jos. F. Mooney, | Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jas. H. McGean. |
| V.G. | Rt. Rev. Mgr. Henry A. Brann, |
| Rt. Rev. Mgr. Jno. F. Kearney. | D.D. |
| Thomas S. O'Brien. | Thomas F. Meehan. |
| Peter Condon. | |

Councillors:

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. | J. Vincent Crowne. |
| William J. Amend. | William R. King. |
| Edward J. McGuire. | Andrew J. Shipman. |

The annual lecture then followed, and for over an hour the audience gave rapt attention to the eloquent discourse on the career of the Canadian hero, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, from his first exploits on the ice-bound borders of Hudson Bay to his death in Havana Harbor.

A vote of thanks to Rev. Fr. Campbell for his entertaining contribution to our American Catholic History was then proposed by Rt. Rev. Mgr. McGean, and was promptly seconded and adopted by the entire audience.

The meeting then adjourned.

JOHN E. CAHALAN,
Recording Secretary.

| | | | |
|---|----------|-------|--------------------|
| By ANNUAL LECTURE. | | | |
| April 3 Hotel Astor, rent of room, etc..... | 50.00 | | |
| " 8 Bensiger Bros., notices, tickets, etc..... | 43.42 | 93.42 | |
| By GENERAL EXPENSES. | | | |
| Feb. 15 Comm. on Membership, Expenses..... | 23.00 | | |
| Jan. 10 President's expenses..... | 4.00 | | |
| Mar. 17 Treasurer's expenses..... | 5.00 | | |
| Nov. 27 " "..... | 2.50 | | |
| Dec. 28 " "..... | 25.49 | | |
| Feb. 16 Recording Secretary expenses, June 14, 1910, to Feb. 7, 1912..... | 10.63 | 70.62 | \$1,216.02 |
| By BALANCE ON HAND, APRIL 9, 1913. | | | |
| Deposit in Trust Co..... | 3,531.74 | | |
| Guaranty Savings Bank.. | 208.96 | | |
| Franklin Industrial Savings Bank..... | 2,267.25 | | |
| Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank..... | 2,828.42 | | |
| Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank..... | 2,828.42 | | |
| East River Bank..... | 856.88 | | |
| " " "..... | | | 12,516.62 |
| | | | <u>\$13,732.64</u> |
| RICHARD S. TREACY, Treasurer. New York, April 9, 1913. | | | |

New York, January 29, 1914.
We, the undersigned, certify that we have examined the foregoing cash account and the vouchers, and find the same correct, and the balances on deposit as reported by the Treasurer to agree with the pass-books.
CHARLES MURRAY, Auditing
JAMES E. DOUGHERTY, } Committee.

\$13,732.64

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OFFICERS

Honorary President,

HIS EMINENCE, JOHN CARDINAL FARLEY, D.D.

President,

CHARLES GEORGE HERBERMANN, Ph.D., LL.D., Lit.D.

Vice-President,

STEPHEN FARRELLY.

Treasurer,

RICHARD S. TREACY, A.M.

Recording Secretary,

JOHN E. CAHALAN, A.M.

Corresponding Secretary,

JOSEPH H. FARGIS, LL.B.

Librarian,

REV. JOSEPH F. DELANY, D.D.

Trustees:

RT. REV. MGR. JOSEPH F. MOONEY, V.G.

RT. REV. MGR. JAMES H. MCGEAN, LL.D.

THOMAS S. O'BRIEN, LL.D. PETER CONDON, A.M.

RT. REV. MGR. JOHN F. KEARNEY.

RT. REV. MGR. HENRY A. BRANN, D.D.

THOMAS F. MEEHAN, A.M.

Councillors:

REV. THOMAS J. CAMPBELL, WILLIAM J. AMEND.

S. J.

WILLIAM R. KING.

EDWARD J. MCGUIRE, LL.B. ANDREW J. SHIPMAN, LL.B.

J. VINCENT CROWNE.

MEMBERS

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| ADAMS, SAMUEL. | BRIODY, REV. JOHN H. |
| ADAMS, T. ALBEUS. | BRISTED, C. A. |
| ADIKES, JOHN. | BRITT, HON. PHILIP J. |
| AGAR, JOHN G. | BRODERICK, DANIEL I. |
| AHEARN, JEREMIAH. | BROPHY, W. H. |
| ALMTRALL, RAYMOND F. | BRUNE, VERY REV. F. J. |
| AMBERG, WM. A. | BUDERUS, JOHN P. |
| AMEND, HON. EDW. B. | BURKE, EDMOND. |
| AMEND, WILLIAM J. | BURKE, REV. JOHN J., |
| AMY, ALFRED V. | C.S.P. |
| AMY, LOUIS H. | BURKE, RT. REV. THOS., |
| ASPELL, DR. JOHN. | M.A., D.D. |
| BAINTON, DR. JOSEPH H. | BURKE, THOMAS. |
| BARTLEY, REV. JAMES R. | BUTLER, JAMES. |
| BAUMER, FRANCOIS. | BYRNE, REV. CHRISTO- |
| BENNETT, WILLIAM H. | PHER E. |
| BENZIGER, BRUNO. | BYRNE, MISS ELIZABETH M. |
| BENZIGER, LOUIS G. | BYRNE, JAMES. |
| BENZIGER, NICHOLAS C. | BYRNE, RT. REV. MGR. |
| BERGE, EDWARD W. | W., D.D. |
| BIERSMITH, E. L. | CAHALAN, JOHN E. |
| BISTER, JOHN. | CALLAHAN, CORNELIUS. |
| BLAKE, REV. W. L. | CALLAN, REV. M. S. |
| BLANFORD, R. A. | CAMPBELL, REV. JOS. C. |
| BLENK, MOST REV. JAMES | CAMPBELL, REV. THOS. |
| H., D.D. | J., S.J. |
| BOGAN, REV. B. M. | CAREY, REV. P. P. |
| BORNEMANN, RT. REV. MGR. | CARROLL, JOHN C. |
| GEO. | CARROLL, P. P. |
| BOYLAN, REV. JOHN F. | CASEY, A. J. |
| BRADY, REV. JOHN F. | CHAZAL, LOUIS R. |
| BRANN, RT. REV. MGR. | CHIDWICK, VERY REV. |
| HENRY A., D.D. | JOHN P. |
| BRENNAN, ALFRED T. V. | CHUTE, MRS. S. H. |
| BRENNAN, JOHN. | CLARE, MISS MARY E. |
| BRESLIN, REV. P. N. | |

- CLARE, WILLIAM F.
 CLARK, REV. ARTHUR
 MARCH.
 CLARKE, WILLIAM B.
 CLAUDE, REV. CAPISTRAN,
 O. M. CAP.
 COCKRAN, HON. WM.
 BOURKE.
 COLEMAN, REV. THOS. J.
 COLLIER, ROBERT J.
 COLLINS, VERY REV. MGR.
 CHAS. W.
 COLTON, RT. REV. CHAS.
 H., D.D.
 CONATY, RT. REV. THOS.
 J., D.D.
 CONDON, MARTIN.
 CONDON, PETER.
 CONNOLLY, REV. ARTHUR T.
 CONNOLLY, VERY REV.
 MGR. JAMES N.
 CONROY, CHARLES C.
 COOKE, A. S.
 CORLEY, REV. CHARLES R.
 COTTER, REV. JAMES H.
 COYLE, DR. JOHN G.
 COYTE, JAMES SLATER.
 CRIMMINS, HON. JOHN D.
 CRONIN, REV. DANIEL T.
 CRONIN, MISS JULIA L.
 CROWNE, J. VINCENT.
 CULLEN, THOS. F.
 CULLUM, REV. HUGH P.
 CUNNION, REV. D. C.
 CUNNION, FRANK.
 CURLEY, T. F.
 CURRY, EDWARD J.
- CUSACK, RT. REV. THOS.
 F., D.D.
 DALY, DANIEL.
 DALY, HON. JOSEPH F.
 DAVEY, H. J.
 DEERY, JOHN J.
 DEGOT, MRS. CAMILLE.
 DEITSCH, MISS.
 DELANEY, HON. JOHN J.
 DELANY, REV. DR. JOS. F.
 DELEHANTY, F. B.
 DEROO, REV. P.
 DEVINE, THOMAS J.
 DEVOY, JOHN W.
 DIETZ, NICHOLAS.
 DILLON, REV. FRANCIS J.
 DINEEN, REV. JOS. P.
 DOELGER, PETER.
 DOLLARD, JAMES J.
 DONAHUE, RT. REV. P. J.,
 D.D.
 DONNELLY, RT. REV. MGR.
 E. J., V.F.
 DONOGHUE, F. X.
 DONOHUE, DANIEL.
 DONOHUE, REV. JOS. P.
 DOODY, REV. DANIEL.
 DOOLEY, M. F.
 DOONER, EDW. J.
 DOWLING, RT. REV. AUSTIN,
 D.D.
 DOWLING, EDWARD D.
 DOWLING, HON. VICTOR J.
 DOYLE, ALFRED.
 DOYLE, JOHN F., JR.
 DRISCOLL, REV. JOHN T.
 DRUMMOND, LOUIS E. A.

- DRUMMOND, MICHAEL J.
 DUCY, MICHAEL H.
 DUFFY, REV. FRANCIS P.
 DUFFY, JAMES P. B.
 DUFFY, REV. THOS. F.
 DUTTON, JOSEPH.
 DWYER, DR. JOHN.
 EARLY, REV. TERENCE J.
 EDWARDS, RT. REV. MGR.
 JOHN.
 EGAN, PETER.
 EMMET, DR. THOMAS ADDIS.
 FALAHEE, JOHN J.
 FANNING, WILLIAM J.
 FARGIS, JOSEPH H.
 FARLEY, HIS EMINENCE
 JOHN CARDINAL.
 FARLEY, TERENCE.
 FARRELL, EDWARD D.
 FARRELL, VEY REV.
 HERBERT F.
 FARRELLY, STEPHEN.
 FARRELLY, T. C.
 FEEHAN, RT. REV. D. F.,
 D.D.
 FEITNER, THOMAS L.
 FENLON, JOHN T.
 FERRER, DR. JOSE M.
 FERRIS, JAMES J.
 FINLAY, SIDNEY J.
 FITZGERALD, HON. JAS. F.
 FITZGERALD, REV. THOS. P.
 FITZMAURICE, RT. REV.
 JOHN E., D.D.
 FITZPATRICK, REV. MALICK
 J.
 FLANNELLY, REV. JOS. F.
 FLOOD, RT. REV. MGR.
 JAMES, J.
 FLOYD-JONES, G. STANTON.
 FLYNN, THOS. P.
 FOGARTY, THOMAS.
 FRANKLIN, JOSEPH.
 FRAWLEY, HON. JAS. J.
 FRAWLEY, REV. JOHN J.
 FRIEL, JOHN J.
 FULLER, PAUL.
 GABRIELS, RT. REV. HENRY,
 D.D.
 GANNON, FRANK S.
 GARVAN, PATRICK.
 GASSLER, REV. LEON.
 GEOGHEGAN, JOSEPH.
 GIBBON, JOHN T.
 GIBBONS, HIS EMINENCE
 JAMES CARDINAL.
 GIBLIN, JOHN A.
 GILLERAN, THOMAS.
 GLEASON, REV. J. M.
 GOESSMANN, MISS HELENA
 T.
 GOGGIN, REV. JAS. E.
 GOODWIN, FRANK J.
 GOTTSBERGER, FRANCIS.
 GRADY, WALTER L.
 GUERTIN, RT. REV. G. A.
 GUINEVAN, REV. PETER F.
 GUMMERSBACH, JOSEPH.
 HAGGERTY, J. HENRY.
 HALLORAN, JOHN H.
 HAMILTON, WM. PETER.
 HANNAN, JOHN.
 HANNON, LINDLEY A.
 HANRAHAN, REV. JAS. V.

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| HARRINGTON, REV. W. H. | KEANE, JAMES R. |
| HARRIS, CHARLES N. | KEANE, MOST REV. JOHN J., D.D. |
| HARTFORD, GEORGE H. | KEANY, JOSEPH F. |
| HAYES, CADY. | KEARNEY, RT. REV. MGR. JOHN F. |
| HAYES, CARROLL. | KEARNS, B. T. |
| HAYES, RT. REV. P.J., D.D. | KELLY, DR. CHARLES J. |
| HEARN, REV. DAVID W., S.J. | KELLY, MRS. HUGH. |
| HEIDE, HENRY. | KELLY, REV. JOSEPH S. |
| HEIDE, WILLIAM F. | KELLY, THOMAS H. |
| HELLMAN, HENRY. | KELLEY, REV. THOMAS P. |
| HENDRICK, HON. PETER A. | KENNEDY, THOS. F. |
| HENNESSY, D. J. | KENNELLY, BRYAN L. |
| HERBERMANN, PROF. CHAS. G. | KENNY, DAVID T. |
| HERBERMANN, HENRY. | KENNY, EDWARD J. |
| HERIN, WILLIAM O. | KENT, JOHN S. |
| HICKEY, CHARLES A. | KERESEY, DR. JOHN T. |
| HICKEY, REV. DAVID J. | KEYES, EDWARD L. |
| HICKEY, JOHN J. | KIELTY, M. J. |
| HICKEY, REV. JOHN J. | KIERAN, JOSEPH N. |
| HICKEY, REV. W. D. | KIERNAN, PATRICK. |
| HIGGINS, FRANCIS. | KING, PERCY J. |
| HIMMEL, REV. JOSEPH, S.J. | KING, WILLIAM R. |
| HOFFMANN, THOS. A. | LAFORT, REV. REMY. |
| HOLTZMAN, L. F. | LAVELLE, RT. REV. MGR. M. J. |
| HOLWICK, REV. F. G. | LAWLER, JOSEPH A. |
| HOPKINS, JOHN A. | LEAHEY, WILLIAM J. |
| HOWARD, REV. JAS. J. | LEAHY, JOHN J. |
| HUGHES, REV. J. T. | LEARY, THOMAS J. |
| HUGHES, REV. W. F., D.D. | LENANE, THOMAS. |
| HUSSEY, J. B. | LENNON, REV. JAS. D. |
| HURLEY, RT. REV. MGR. EDW. F. | LEONARD, REV. EDW. F. |
| JOYCE, MICHAEL J. | LEWIS, JAMES M. |
| KEAN, REV. JOHN J. | LINEHAN, PAUL H. |
| | LINGS, VERY REV. A. A. |

- LIVINGSTON, REV. WM.
 LONARGAN, REV. JOHN P.
 LOUBAT, JOSEPH F.
 LOYOLA SCHOOL.
 LYNCH, JAMES.
 LYNCH, JAMES D.
 LYNCH, DR. J. B.
 LYNCH, RT. REV. MGR.
 J. S. M., D.D.
 LYONS, JERE C.
 McALEER, REV. P. P.
 McANERNEY, JOHN.
 McBRIDE, T. J.
 McCaffrey, JOHN B., M.D.
 McCahill, REV. JOHN J.
 McCall, HON. EDW. E.
 McCARTEN, MRS. ELIZABETH C.
 McCARTEN, MICHAEL K.
 McClure, DAVID.
 McClure, REV. WM. J.
 McCormack, FRANK J.
 McCREADY, RT. REV. MGR.
 CHAS. J.
 McDONNELL, RT. REV.
 CHAS. E., D.D.
 McELDERRY, VINCENT J.
 McELROY, MRS. WM. B.
 McFAUL, RT. REV. JAS. A.,
 D.D.
 McFEE, JOHN J., M.D.
 McGARE, REV. THOS. F.
 McGEAN, EDWARD J.
 McGEAN, RT. REV. MGR.
 JAMES H.
 McGOLRICK, VEEY REV.
 MGR. EDW. J.
- McGRATH, REV. J. B.
 McGUIRE, EDWARD J.
 McGUIRE, JOS. HUBERT.
 McHUGH, REV. JOHN B.
 McKenna, RT. REV. MGR.
 EDWARD
 McKenna, THOMAS P.
 McLoughlin, MISS MARY J.
 McLoughlin, WM.
 McMAHON, RT. REV. MGR.
 D. J.
 McMAHON, JOHN B., M.D.
 McMAHON, REV. DR.
 JOSEPH H.
 McNABOE, JAMES F.
 McNAMARA, RT. REV.
 MGR. P. J.
 McNAMEE, JOHN.
 McPARLAN, EDW. C.
 McPARLAND, JOHN E.
 MADDEN, RT. REV. MGR.
 JOHN T.
 MAGUIRE, JAMES D.
 MALONEY, MARTIN.
 MALONEY, MAURICE T.
 MANHATTAN COLLEGE.
 MARTIN, JAMES J.
 MAYO, HON. JOHN B.
 MEANY, EDWARD, M.D.
 MEEHAN, THOMAS F.
 MEENAN, REV. WM. B.
 MESSMER, MOST REV. S. G.,
 D.D.
 MEYER, REV. HENRY J.
 MILLER, REV. WM. C.
 MINAHAN, THOS. B.
 MINRATH, F. R.

- MITCHELL, JOHN J.
 MOFFIT, WILLIAM H.
 MOLLOY, JOSEPH A.
 MONKS, JOHN, JR.
 MOONEY, RT. REV. MGR.
 JOSEPH F.
 MORRELL, MRS. EDW.
 MORRIS, RT. REV. JOHN B.
 MORRIS, REV. JOHN J.
 MOTHER SUPERIOR, Academy Mt. St. Vincent.
 MOTHER SUPERIOR, Sisters of Charity.
 MULGREW, JAMES T.
 MULLALLY, JOHN.
 MULLANY, BERNARD J.
 MULLANY, REV. J. F.
 MULLEN, REV. J. J.
 MULQUEEN, HON. JOS. F.
 MULQUEEN, MICHAEL J.
 MULRY, THOMAS M.
 MURPHY, EDWARD.
 MURPHY, MISS NORA.
 MURPHY, RT. REV. MGR.
 W. G.
 MURPHY, REV. THOMAS E., S.J.
 MURPHY, REV. W. H.
 MURRAY, CHARLES.
 MURRIN, JAMES B.
 MYHAN, REV. THOS. F.
 NAGELEISEN, REV. J. A.
 NEAGLE, REV. RICHARD.
 NEILL, CHARLES P.
 NOLAN, REV. JOHN A.
 NOONAN, REV. JAMES E.
 NOONAN, JOHN.
 NORRIS, REV. JOHN W.
 O'BRIEN, EDWARD J.
 O'BRIEN, VERY REV. F. A., LL.D.
 O'BRIEN, RT. REV. MGR. JOHN.
 O'BRIEN, REV. JOHN.
 O'BRIEN, DR. JOHN J.
 O'BRIEN, HON. MORGAN J.
 O'BRIEN, THOS. S.
 O'CALLAGHAN, RT. REV. T. A., D.D.
 O'CONNELL, RT. REV. D. J., D.D.
 O'CONNELL, JOHN.
 O'CONNOR, HAROLD H.
 O'CONNOR, P.
 O'CONNOR, RT. REV. JOHN J., D.D.
 O'CONNOR, THOMAS H.
 O'DONOGHUE, MRS. JOS. J.
 O'DONOGHUE, LOUIS V.
 O'FLAHERTY, WM. P.
 O'GORMAN, HON. JAMES A.
 O'GORMAN, RICHARD J.
 O'GORMAN, RT. REV. THOMAS, D.D.
 OHLIGSCHLOGER, J. B.
 O'KEEFE, REV. JOHN J.
 O'KEEFE, REV. T. M.
 O'KEEFE, JOHN G.
 OLCOTT, MRS. DR.
 O'LEARY, MISS MARY
 O'LEARY, REV. P. J.
 OLENDORF, C. D.

- O'MARRA, REV. PATRICK A.
 O'MEARA, STEPHEN.
 O'NEIL, REV. DENIS P.
 O'ROURKE, JEREMIAH.
 ORR, WILLIAM C.
 O'SULLIVAN, CHARLES.
 O'SULLIVAN, J. D.
 OWENS, JOSEPH E.
 PALLAN, CONDE B.
 PENNY, VERY REV. WM. L.
 PERRY, CHARLES J.
 PETTIT, REV. GEO., S.J.
 PHELAN, REV. THOS. P.
 PHILBIN, HON. EUGENE A.
 PLUNKET, JAS.
 PRENDERGAST, JAS. M.
 PRENDERGAST, WM. A.
 PRIOR OF ST. BENEDICT'S
 ABBAY.
 PULLEYN, JOHN J.
 PYNE, REV. WILLIAM.
 QUINLAN, FRANCIS J., M.D.
 QUINN, REV. DANIEL A.
 QUINN, REV. DANIEL J.,
 S.J.
 RAINER, RT. REV. MGR.
 JOS.
 REDEMPTORIST FATHERS.
 REDWOOD, MOST REV.
 FRANCIS, D.D.
 REID, REV. CHARLES F.
 REILLY, F. JAMES.
 REVILLE, PHILIP E.
 RICHTER, RT. REV. H. J.,
 D.D.
 RIDDER, HENRY.
 RIDDER, HERMAN.
 ROBINSON, GEORGE B.
 RODGERS, J. C.
 ROE, J. A.
 ROONEY, J. A.
 ROUTT, HARVEY J.
 RUDGE, GEORGE, JR.
 RUPPERT, MRS. JACOB.
 RUSSELL, REV. WM. T.
 RYAN, JOHN D.
 RYAN, MRS. JOSEPH T.
 RYAN, THOS. F.
 RYAN, WILLIAM T.
 RYDER, REV. WILLIAM C.
 SASSEEN, R. A.
 SCHAEFER, JOSEPH.
 SCHAEKEN, REV. ALPHON-
 SUS M. H.
 SCHINNER, RT. REV. A. F.,
 D.D.
 SCHOPP, ADAM A.
 SCHREMBES, RT. REV. JOSEPH,
 D.D.
 SCOTT, JOSEPH.
 SCULLY, REV. PATRICK F.
 SCULLY, P. J.
 SHAHAN, RT. REV. MGR.
 THOMAS J.
 SHEA, ROBERT J.
 SHEAHAN, REV. J. F.
 SHEEDY, BRYAN D., M.D.
 SHEEHAN, D. F.
 SHEEHAN, JOHN C.
 SHEPPARD, RT. REV. MGR.
 JOHN A.
 SHIPMAN, ANDREW J.
 SHRIVER, C. C.
 SHRIVER, T. HERBERT.

- SILO, JAMES P.
 SINNOT, REV. GEORGE.
 SLATER, JOHN.
 SLOANE, CHARLES W.
 SLOANE, DR. THOMAS
 O'CONOR.
 SMITH, BRYAN.
 SMITH, JAMES.
 SMITH, REV. JAMES J.
 SMITH, JOHN T.
 SMITH, REV. JOSEPH F.
 SPALDING, MOST REV.
 J. L., D.D.
 SPILLANE, REV. EDW. P.,
 S.J.
 SULLIVAN, CORNELIUS J.
 SULLIVAN, J. H.
 SUPERIOR, Convent St. Joseph
 (Brentwood)
 SWEENEY, REV. EDWIN M.
 TAAFFE, RT. REV. MGR.
 THOMAS.
 TAAFFE, THOMAS GAFFNEY.
 TACK, THEODORE E.
 TALLEY, ALFRED J.
 TAYLOR, REV. MATTHEW A.
 TERNAN, GERALD B.
 THEBAUD, PAUL G.
 THERESA, Sister Vincent.
 THOMAS, MRS. MARY.
 THOMPSON, T. P.
 THORNTON, REV. THOS. A.
 THUILLIE, REV. JOS. M.
 TIERNEY, REV. EDW. J.
 TREACY, REV. JAMES P.,
 D.D.
 TREACY, RICHARD S.
 TULLY, JAMES M.
 TYRELL, PATRICK.
 VAN ANTWERP, REV.
 FRANCIS J.
 VARET, MISS LOUISE.
 VARNAGIRIS, VINCENT V.,
 Ph.D.
 WADE, JOSEPH H.
 WADLIN, H. G., LIBRARIAN,
 BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.
 WALL, RT. REV. MGR.
 FRANCIS H., D.D.,
 WALSH, RT. REV. LOUIS S.,
 D.D.
 WALSH, RICHARD L.
 WALSHE, REV. R. F.
 WALTERS, CHARLES F.
 WEBBER, CHARLES A.
 WEIR, REV. JOHN F.
 WHALEN, GROVER M.
 WHITE, DR. WHITMAN V.
 WIENKER, RT. REV. MGR.
 H. CLEMENT.
 WILMER, VERY REV. AN-
 TONINUS, O. M. CAP.
 WOODLOCK, THOS. F.
 WOODS, REV. JOSEPH, S.J.
 WRIGHT, FRANCIS E.
 WUCHER, REV. THEOPHILE,
 S.P.M.
 WYNNE, REV. JOHN J., S.J.
 YAWMAN, P. H.
 ZWINGE, REV. JOSEPH, S.J.

LOAN DEPT.

Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

[illegible]

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

United States Catholic
historical society. v.7
Historical records and
studies.
DEC 6 1917 *Pacton* JAN 22 1918
NOV 20 1936A *Jeggart* NOV 12 1936

291073

*E184
C345
v.7*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BERKELEY



8000545321

